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# South and East Asia Report

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Effective 1 January 1983, this report series is being reorganized and retitled the SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT. Material on the South Asian countries--Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka--that now appears in it will be published instead in the JPRS NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT. Also effective 1 January 1983, the JPRS VIETNAM REPORT is being discontinued. Vietnam material will subsequently be incorporated into the SOUTHEAST ASIA REPORT.

15 December 1982

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SEVERAL ISSUES ON HONG KONG'S FUTURE ANALYZED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 11, Nov 82 pp 35-37

[Article by Ch'i Sun [2630 1327]]

[Text] Clear? Unclear?

In the history of Hong Kong, September 1982 was a rather crucial page.

To say that it was crucial is because, in that month, China's leaders formally declared to Britain's leaders the intent to regain sovereignty over the entire Hong Kong region. It was not a restatement of a history text, nor a memo to the United Nations, but an unequivocal declaration to Britain and a proclamation to the whole world.

To say that it was crucial is because, from that month onward, Hong Kong entered a turbulent, fluctuating and transitional new period.

At the time when Mrs Thatcher's visit to China was announced, Hong Kong and world opinion expected a clear decision by China and Britain on the future of Hong Kong. Nevertheless, when we look at the matter today, it appears that Mrs. Thatcher's trip fell short of the goal, because many people find the situation not clear enough.

Actually, if we want clarity, it should be considered extremely clear:

1. China is determined to regain sovereignty over the entire Hong Kong region. This stand is "unequivocal and known to all."
2. In line with the common goal of maintaining Hong Kong's prosperity and stability, China and Britain have agreed that discussions will be held by diplomatic means after Mrs Thatcher's visit.

The first is an uncompromising stand, attitude and determination; the second is to discuss the concrete pattern and method of solution.

In that case, why is the situation considered unclear or not clear enough? Because, even though many feel that China's recovery of sovereignty over Hong Kong is just and indisputable, they dread, in the marrow of their bones, this resonant sound and worry that this unavoidable reality will one day turn into a tangible and perceptible fact. Meanwhile, what people are even more eager to learn are: When will it happen? By what pattern? What will be the form of administration? How will the status quo be maintained? How will prosperity be preserved? Will the level of income drop? Will the living pattern change?

If there must be recovery, then late is better than early.

If there must be changes, then less is better than more.

As all these questions have no concrete answers, naturally the matter is unclear.

Ignorance of History? Distortion of Reality?

In fact, there is another point which is very clear: There are still differences of opinion between China and Britain on the issue of sovereignty over Hong Kong.

Mrs Thatcher's misstep in front of the Great Hall of the People and finally, her being invited to attend "The Phoenix" in Shanghai should both be considered good annotations of the XINHUA comment at the end of the Sino-British joint announcement.

Nevertheless, it appears that Mrs Thatcher failed to wake up to reality, thereby the views expressed by her during her stay in Hong Kong which caused criticisms and China's solemn rebuttal (in the name of the spokesman of Information Department, Foreign Affairs Ministry).

Some people feel that it was why the iron maiden was iron; others feel that, as the British prime minister, she had to say what she did. However, today she should know that, after her trip to China, i.e., after learning China's stand on recovery of sovereignty over Hong Kong, her open declaration of the validity of the three unequal treaties, far more than hurting the feelings of the Chinese government, also greatly distressed the Chinese people.

Far more than ignorance of history, it was downright blindness out of lust for gain and a distortion of reality. No need to get to the bottom of the matter, but one only has to take a look at why, at the banquet in the Great Hall of the People, Mrs Thatcher spoke with fervor and assurance of the friendship between China and Britain in the Wanli years [the reign of Emperor Shenzong, Ming Dynasty, 1573-1620], while avoiding any mention of the instances of the recent 100 plus years. It was just as well not to mention them. But why did she have the gall to declare time and again her intention to take this and that kind of responsibilities toward Hong

Kong and its people? As if Hong Kong's prosperity and growth depended entirely on Britain; as if only the British could properly rule Hong Kong; as if Hong Kong, once returned to China, would be forever doomed! Bemoaning the state of the universe and pitying the fate of mankind, she had to speak out from a sense of justice.... Besides distorting history and reality, in what position do such statements place the several million Chinese in Hong Kong?

Have not Deng Xiaoping and other Chinese leaders made the statement time and again that, if Hong Kong is not regained, it will be unfair to the ancestors above and the descendants below? Furthermore, one only has to come into contact with Beijing's high-level figures to know that the state of mind of the power wielding and decision making cadre experts and scholars in the various departments in China today, especially those who are in their 60's and 70's and have had connections and dealings with Hong Kong, is that, if Hong Kong is not regained in their lifetimes, they will not be able to die in peace.

In terms of the 5 million plus people of Hong Kong, it was precisely because they made the most of their intelligence and wisdom, exerted themselves diligently and continuously innovated to adapt to the need of the situation that there are the achievements today. One has a pretty good idea of just what part was played by the British colonialists occupying the ruling position in the growth of Hong Kong. Mrs Thatcher talked glibly about responsibilities, as if Hong Kong would suffer a calamity without British administration. No wonder some people ridiculed her by asking her to take a look at the state of the British economy. With the several years of Tory control, hasn't it remained the same old mess?

Thus, come to think of it, Mrs Thatcher was not as sharp as I-ho Company in figuring things out. This year I-ho Company was smart enough to spend huge sums of money to advertise widely and create a new image, yet Mrs Thatcher still thought that preserving the images of the colonialist, motherland, suzerain and protectorate would benefit the solution of Hong Kong's future and give her more trump cards. It truly fitted the title of the popular movie in Hong Kong: "Time Flows Backward"....

Naturally, upon analyzing, there is no need to take Mrs Thatcher's words seriously. She will not fight for Hong Kong like she did for the Falklands, and she will not and cannot block Hong Kong's return to China. Nor is there any need to be too keyed up about the declaration of the Chinese government, as if the moment recovery of sovereignty were mentioned, it would produce an instantaneous result and come true overnight, or as if the Chinese would disregard history and reality, cast the British aside without negotiation and ignore the wishes of the Hong Kong people, arbitrarily imposing everything on them.

Both sides are playacting, because the stern reality and the complex situation make it impossible for anyone to transcend the conditions of the times. The focal issue now is to maintain prosperity and stability.

## Hong Kong-Style Prosperity? Chinese-Style Prosperity?

What kind of prosperity? On this issue, there are indeed different views.

For a time in the past, people advocated recovery of sovereignty "without changing the status quo." Not only faulty in wording, but it is impossible in practice. Just think: If Hong Kong is no longer a colony, changing the flag and replacing the administration, will all the present colonial symbols, forms and structures be kept? Is it conceivable that the the numerous irrational, abnormal and abominable things in Hong Kong today, which are admitted by even those living here, will be permitted to develop and taken over wholesale? Even though Hong Kong may one day become a special administrative region or special area, it will after all be a capitalist region under socialist control, not a capitalist region under capitalist control. How can everything remain unchanged?

Today, both China and Britain want to maintain prosperity, but prosperity has different criteria. Will it be Hong Kong-style prosperity or Chinese-style prosperity? To put it more clearly, will it be capitalist-style prosperity or socialist-style prosperity? One can say that China has successfully administered such large cities as Shanghai and Tianjin, because everything there is good and prosperous, and prosperous in a healthy way. Yet in Hong Kong's view, it is another kind of "prosperity." In the eyes of some, it is recession and regression, not prosperity and progress.

China has declared time and again that, after recovery, Hong Kong will be permitted to maintain its present social economic system and preserve its position as a free port, trading port and international financial center, and the standard of living will not be lowered. Not just difficult to accomplish, but these words are not easy to utter! It is reported that someone has proposed a theme, hoping that Marxist scholars will cite the classics and demonstrate that the capitalist system may be permitted to exist in a socialist state. It obviously is a theme even harder than the examination for the highest academic title. Meanwhile, regardless of the demonstrations, either socialism or communism, in the long run, is incompatible with capitalism. At the moment, the socialist sign and the socialist label will always frighten many Hong Kong people out of their wits. Zhao Ziyang asked the Hong Kong reporters what's there to worry about. Is it necessary to answer the question? Do the many worries and many fears have to be put in so many words?

Inevitable Upheaval? Unnatural Panic?

Since there are fears and worries, there is bound to be a sense of insecurity. In that case, how will stability be maintained?

Since the end of September, after the results of the preliminary round of Chinese-British talks were revealed, Hong Kong has indeed been engulfed in dark clouds and dense fog, and there has indeed been the area-wide

practice of discussing the year ninety-seven with anyone who happens to come one's way.

Those with money and the conditions ponder the places to stash their capital and the homes for their families. People making immigration applications and planning for routes of retreat are everywhere, and even advertisements such as immigration consulting and advisory service appear continuously.

Nevertheless, people like them are after all a minority, or the minority of a minority. According to the immigration regulations of the various countries, as shown by some estimates, from now to 1997, those fortunate enough to emigrate will number only 100,000 to 200,000, while Hong Kong has a population of 5 million plus. There are those without money or the conditions who envy those who can fly far and high, but the overwhelming majority recognizes reality, considers Hong Kong its homeland and wants to live here. While people who are used to life here and have only been Chinese in Hong Kong naturally do not want any change in the status quo, not knowing what life will be like after Hong Kong's return or how mal-adjusted they will be, the new arrivals with their green stamps who were socialist citizens for one, two or three decades also feel bewildered.

Since the end of September, the violent fluctuations of the stock market concretely embody the sense of insecurity, and the Heng-sheng index has, to a certain extent, turned into an index of the crisis of confidence. In the week from 27 September to 1 October, it dropped from over 1,000 points to 800 plus, and is still at this level.

Under the continued recession of the Western economy, Hong Kong's economy which relies on increased export and on markets of the outside world cannot but be affected. Even with Hong Kong's strong resilience, the ingenuity of its industrialists and businessmen and the industry of its populace, the area still suffers directly or indirectly the impact of the recession of the West. With the slump of its real estate market in recent years on top thereof, its economic predicament can be imagined. Any slight stir, any rumor and hearsay produce violent fluctuations in the ever sensitive stock market. The Fujian proverb saying that "rolling pastry balls before the Winter Solstice" means that preparations for special food are started long before the arrival of the festival, and now that it is here, will not the preparations become frenetic? It is completely applicable to the highly speculative stock market. With the stock market, it is waves without wind to start with, let alone the times when breezes, light wind, gusts and typhoons all blow together! Thus, there are not only factors of fear, hesitancy, anxiety and worry, but also components of making waves, fishing in troubled waters and seizing advantages by trickery. "Evening clouds fly together with the lone goose; autumn water shares the same color as the long sky," thereby interwoven into the picture of the stock market today. Thus, even though in mid-October the U.S. Federal Reserve Board reduced the discount rate for the fifth time, U.S. banks lowered the prime rate, some European countries



cut the interest rate and U.S. stock market rose several days in a row, Hong Kong's stock market remains the same, listless and apathetic.

According to the announcement in Youde government report, Chinese-British talks have started, but everyone knows that it will be an arduous and endless journey. Though it will not be like the marathon of the Warsaw talks between China and the United States when sometimes a meeting was adjourned after deciding only on the time for the next meeting, will one be able to expect the Chinese-British talks to lead to an agreement within a matter of months? From all appearances, neither side has yet worked out a concrete plan!

Therefore, during this period of talks, viz., before the final conclusion is reached, the sense of insecurity and the fluctuation of the stock market are inevitable and will also be sustained, not to mention the strict secrecy of the meetings which will always cause sudden upheavals in the stock market.

At this moment of dense clouds threatening rain, with the up and down of the stock market, the rise and fall of the Hong Kong dollar, the in and out of capital, the come and go of talented people, the emergence and disappearance of rumors, the sense of insecurity... everyone must be mentally prepared. To a certain extent, one should regard all these as normal. One should face reality and handle it correctly.

Unilateral Effort? Common Effort?

Nevertheless, such turmoil is after all not desirable, but actually, nor is an overpessimistic view of Hong Kong's future entirely correct.

On the one hand, even at this moment of turmoil, it is still, or even more, the time for a hero to exercise his abilities. Let alone the fact that there remain 15 more years, even if there are only 6 months, 1, 3 or 5 years, in terms of those who favor light investing, they can seize the opportunities and fill their jars and urns. Time is valuable; therefore, one must not indulge in wishful dreams of days of stability or wait for the dust to settle before action. Since the time and the place are borrowed to start with, then, 15 years are an interval when much can be done and should not be frittered away.

On the other hand, in this moment of turmoil, sobriety is an absolute necessity. Since the recovery of sovereignty over Hong Kong is just, one should start from reality. Since China has expressed time and again that history and reality will be respected and prosperity and stability maintained, one should believe that it will do so, because it is linked with the interest of the entire China as well as with that of the several million people of Hong Kong.

Naturally, from now to the completion of the plan for concrete solution, and even to the time when the conditions are ripe and China regains

sovereignty over Hong Kong, whether on the part of China, Britain or Hong Kong, and whether on the part of the government or the people, many things can be done to promote continued stability and continued prosperity. Furthermore, they must be done, because, if no effort is made and capital is permitted to flow out and talented people to vanish, the leaks, once started, will grow ever larger. When the vitality is sapped, it will be difficult to rebuild. In addition, people want stability today, and all quarters should take practical actions favorable to stability and prosperity and enable Hong Kong's economy to continue its development.

In terms of Hong Kong, for its future and the future of its people, as indicated by Youde, large investments must continue to be made and managed vigorously. If one acts as if the end of world were arriving and sells everything salable (including every inch of land), it will only cause more panic and scorn. Policies and measures favorable to Hong Kong's economic development should continue to be introduced; giant projects (including new airports, tunnels...) should be considered at an early date; more welfare measures beneficial to the Hong Kong people (housing, medicine, education...) should be undertaken and properly implemented. Judged from the trend, many overseas investors today have not lost interest in Hong Kong. In the third quarter, some of them indicated the intention to invest in Hong Kong, and recently four foreign banks obtained approval to do business in Hong Kong. In regard to such tendencies, the Hong Kong government has the responsibility to handle them correctly, render active aid, properly prepare the basic facilities and improvement the environment for investing.

In terms of China, it must not only maintain close economic links and cooperation with Hong Kong (the facts have proved that the position of China's inland as Hong Kong's important trading partner has grown ever more vital), nor must only Chinese banks, enterprises and structures exert an unrelenting effort in the building of Hong Kong and together promote the development of its economy from all sides, but one extremely crucial point is the progress of China's inland itself! If China's economy improves steadily, if its democracy and freedom grow steadily, and if the living standard of its people rises steadily, all these, in themselves, will produce an exemplary effect, give a new impression and present a new prospect to the Hong Kong people. The recent 12th Party Congress reaffirmed the principles, policies and measures of the 3d Plenary Session. If China will truly work steadily and surely step by step, what a tremendous influence it will produce on the thinking of the people of Hong Kong! In addition, if China properly manages Shenzhen and indeed keeps its words with foreign investors, treats foreign capitalism correctly, achieves the goal of mutual benefit, continues to overcome bureaucracy and raises the work efficiency... people will see the abstruse from the obvious and deduce Hong Kong from Shenzhen.

Naturally, how to expedite the talks between China and Britain, conscientiously consider history and reality and reach a rational and beneficial agreement on an early date is an extremely crucial issue which needs no elaboration here.

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PRELIMINARY OUTLINE OF HONG KONG'S FUTURE SKETCHED

Hong Kong CH'I-SHIH NIEN-TAI [THE SEVENTIES] in Chinese No 11, Nov 82  
pp 42-45

[Article by Ch'i Hsin [7871 6580]: "Preliminary Determination of Hong Kong's Future"]

[Text] With the hurried trip of British Prime Minister Mrs Thatcher, the first round of talks between the top leaders of China and Britain on the future of Hong Kong was concluded. The meeting, held in Beijing in the nature of "laying the cards on the table," was described by various quarters as discussions revealing the differences between the two sides. Unable to reach any agreement on the solution of Hong Kong's future, it seemed that they "reluctantly" agreed to issue on 24 September the announcement consisting of only 80 plus words:

"Today, the leaders of the two countries, in a friendly atmosphere, held an in-depth discussion on the issue of Hong Kong's future. The leaders of the two countries explained their own standpoints on this issue. In line with the common goal of maintaining Hong Kong's prosperity and stability, the two sides have agreed to carry out negotiations by diplomatic means after this visit."

Mrs Thatcher said at the press conference on that day that this short announcement was "published by agreement of Chairman Deng Xiaoping and myself" and indicated that "there will no further comment." On China's part, the words "joint announcement" were completely absent, and the official XINHUA PRESS handled it as a news item and added a supplement at the end:

"As for the stand of the Chinese government on regaining sovereignty over the entire region of Hong Kong, it is unequivocal and known to all."

The summit meeting between China and Britain concerned the future of Hong Kong's 5 million plus residents; therefore, in terms of Hong Kong, it was a major historical event. Different people in Hong Kong, with complex

and conflicting feelings of hope, anxiety and alarm, closely followed the discussions in Beijing, yet the result was that each stuck to its own argument, neither willing to yield. Mrs Thatcher reaffirmed the validity of the three treaties between Britain and the Qing government on Hong Kong, Kowloon and the New Territories, while China declared that they were arbitrarily imposed on China by the imperialists under the gunboat diplomacy and that China refuses to abide by the restraint of unequal treaties. The surfacing of the divergences and the hostile postures of the two sides, and the relatively violent vibrations produced by foreign exchange on Hong Kong are also reflected in the sensitive stock market. Is it possible to sketch a preliminary outline of Hong Kong's political position by corroborating and carefully analyzing the movements of the various quarters, the views and information published and the various versions in circulation around the time of the Sino-British summit meeting?

Some people maintain that Hong Kong's future has been determined at the first round of talks, but the view of this writer is that one may say that some issues have been preliminarily defined, some have not been completely determined, and only clues for forecasting have been provided on others.

#### China Will Regain Sovereignty in 1997

From China's standpoint, it will regain sovereignty over the entire region of Hong Kong in 1997. This point appears to have been preliminarily determined. China has proposed 1997, which is the year when, according to the principle of law, Britain will return the area north of Boundary [Chieh Hsien 3954 7098] Street, covering 92 percent of the entire area of Hong Kong, to China. Under this situation, it is hardly conceivable for Britain to be able to maintain its original control over the remaining 8 percent. Therefore, Britain has no room for bargaining.

Some people feel that China's proposal of regaining sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997 conflicts with its rejection of the three unequal treaties. They fail to realize that it is where China's strength lies in the negotiations. The reason is China feels that the Hong Kong issue must be solved through negotiations, not by force, then 1997 is the best occasion to regain sovereignty. If China proposes a time prior to 1997 and Britain refuses to agree, and China cannot resort to force, the issue will be insoluble. If it waits until after 1997 to demand the return of sovereignty and Britain, whose control of the entire Hong Kong region (including the New Territories) by then will have become a fait accompli without any restraint by treaty, refuses, China will be unable to resort to force rashly. Only by proposing the year 1997, when Britain must return the New Territories according to the principle of law, will China be able to logically recover sovereignty over the entire region of Hong Kong through negotiations.

While China's intent to regain sovereignty has been made clear from the official news reports of the government, there has been no official mention of 1997 as the year of recovery, but only some unofficial information divulged by some government figures. Nevertheless, in view of the well corroborated information revealed through all kinds of channels and the above analysis of the negotiations, we can infer that China's intent is to regain sovereignty over the entire region in 1997, and it will be difficult for Britain to refuse in view of the principle of law and reality (of the remaining 8 percent of the area).

Therefore, if China indeed places "recovery of sovereignty" above "maintaining prosperity" in its considerations, and if the damage to "prosperity" will not be serious enough to change China's predetermined policy, then, it seems that the return of sovereignty over the entire Hong Kong region in 1997 to China is the preliminarily determined future of Hong Kong.

#### The Form of Colonial Rule Will Be Eliminated

In view of the fact that another crucial point in addition to "regaining sovereignty" is "maintaining prosperity," and that "maintaining the prosperity and stability of Hong Kong" is the only point in common in the announcement made after the talks between Deng and Thatcher, what measures will be adopted to "maintain prosperity" after "regaining sovereignty" is another vital issue concerning Hong Kong's future.

It was unfortunate that possibly the summit meeting this time basically did not touch upon this issue; at least, neither China nor Britain made any clear hint. Nevertheless, through all kinds of channels, China has disclosed its intent to adopt a number of measures different from the inland to maintain prosperity after regaining sovereignty.

First, eliminating the form of colonial rule will be considered the symbol of "recovery of sovereignty." The Chinese place a tremendous emphasis on form, because it is directly linked with face. Eliminating the colonial form, viz., replacing the governor sent by Britain to Hong Kong, is the most crucial embodiment of "recovery of sovereignty," because the appointment of a governor to Hong Kong symbolizes the tie between the "suzerain" and the "colony." Cutting this tie signifies eliminating the form of colonial rule. The "governor" after "regaining sovereignty," possibly called "mayor" in the future, must not be someone appointed by Britain. According to information, China's intent is that the future "governor" should be a Hong Kong or overseas figure responsible to Beijing. He may be Chinese, or he may not necessarily hold Chinese citizenship. To enable Hong Kong to preserve its present system as much as possible and to win the confidence of the outside world, the future "governor" will not be sent from inland.

As for whether there will be a "changing of flags" at the same time and whether, thereafter, on the basis of constitutional stipulations on "one

state and two systems," "capitalism under the Five-Starred Flag" will be practiced in Hong Kong seem not to have been finally decided. One theory is that China will permit the "Hong Kong flag" to fly over the area, provided the British emblem is removed from it. The purpose is to minimize the disruptions to the Hong Kong system. China only wants to eliminate the form of colonial rule with Britain as the "suzerain," but has no intention to strengthen its formal position in Hong Kong. When the possible impact on Hong Kong's prosperity by so doing is considered, China will tend toward a cautious attitude.

Besides "changing governor" which is imperative, China, on the whole, hopes that Hong Kong will remain the same as far as possible. Zhao Ziyang indicated early this year to British Lord Privy Seal Atkins that China values Hong Kong's position as a free port, free market and international financial center. To preserve this position, the key issues are the standing of the Hong Kong dollar and its current legal system. Obviously, China will draft a series of measures to safeguard these vital points. The difficulties are that the current standing of the Hong Kong dollar is guaranteed by the reserve fund that Hong Kong's legal procedure provides for appeal to London's Privy Council and is guaranteed by a long tradition of rule of law and a wide range of case precedents (all precedents in the entire United Kingdom may be cited). Whether the confidence of the outside world can be maintained without the two guarantees is indeed a difficult problem.

Many more measures which China will adopt have been rumored but not confirmed. Many of those measures under consideration are actually of an exploratory nature and cannot serve as the basis of conclusion. As for whether such measures are feasible, it is not the purpose of this article to discuss.

Another point on Hong Kong's future which can be determined is: After regaining sovereignty over Hong Kong, China will, in a fairly long transitional period, adopt measures different from the political and economic system of the China mainland.

#### The Transitional Period Will Begin in 1997

As the Chinese government reports and announcements have not mentioned 1997 as the year to regain sovereignty, many people surmise that it may happen within the next few years, on the following grounds: 1. Deng Xiaoping once considered striving for the realization of the unification of China, including Taiwan (hinting the inclusion of Hong Kong and Macao), as one of the three great tasks of the eighties. 2. It is surmised that China may use the successful experiment of the special administrative region in Hong Kong to appeal to Taiwan to follow suit. 3. As China has openly declared its rejection of the three unequal treaties, it is believed that China will not be restrained by the treaties and may demand the return of sovereignty at any time. 4. Why does China propose discussion of the issue on "recovery of sovereignty" with Britain at this

time? If sovereignty is not to be regained until 1997, isn't it premature to discuss it now and, on top thereof, to frighten away capital and talented people?

With such conjectures as the basis, rumors ran wild at one time. Some people maintained "preparations for 5 years and recovery in 10;" others put it at 1885. The rumors produced overreactions in Hong Kong's financial market.

Nevertheless, from Mrs Thatcher's attitude on the three treaties, it is impossible for China to propose the return of sovereignty over the entire Hong Kong region within the next few years.

First, as shown in Mrs Thatcher's statements, Britain was the one which asked to discuss the three treaties, because "one of them indicates the end of the lease in 1997." It shows that China was not in a hurry to discuss the issue of Hong Kong's sovereignty.

Next, if China proposes recovery of sovereignty before 1997 and Britain refuses, what will China do? Resort to force? It will be in violation of the five-point principle of peaceful coexistence and the principle of solving the Hong Kong issue by means of negotiations. Will it take such measures as cutting off water source and grain supply to pressure Hong Kong? China definitely will not resort to such hostile means against its Hong Kong compatriots. Therefore, China will not have a trump card in such a proposal. The most powerful trump card is the year 1997, because it has to be honored by Britain under the principle of law.

As for making a demonstration to Taiwan, if China must wait until the success of the special administrative region in Hong Kong before inducing Taiwan to follow suit, it will take too long. Even if China should take over Hong Kong today, to win the confidence of Taiwan and the outside world by the success of its experiment of "everything remaining unchanged" in Hong Kong will take at least 8 to 10 years. Meanwhile, any disturbance in the interval will shake Taiwan's confidence. What China uses to appeal to Taiwan is not its experiment in Hong Kong, but its plan and guarantee of a "special administrative region." If the plan is accepted by its Hong Kong compatriots and the cooperation of Britain obtained, it will serve as sufficient propaganda to Taiwan. Therefore, what is used to appeal to Taiwan is not the "special administrative region" experiment in Hong Kong of 8 or 10 years, but the acceptance of the plan; it is a written document, not action.

As for what Deng Xiaoping said about "striving for the realization of the unification of China, including Taiwan," there is the word "striving," meaning that the "striving" will be made in the eighties. Are not all the things done today "strivings?" It naturally does not signify a timetable for the realization of unification decided by Deng Xiaoping.

As for when the transitional period will begin, one view is that, upon the conclusion of the Sino-British negotiations and after Britain

acknowledges China's recovery of sovereignty over the entire Hong Kong region, the transitional period of a "special administrative region" will begin. Suppose the negotiations are concluded within the term of office (1984) of the Tory government, then it appears that the start of the "special administrative region" in 1985 will be logical.

Nevertheless, according to what has been analyzed above, China probably will not propose recovery of sovereignty before 1997. Therefore, replacing the governor and initiating the transitional period of the "special administrative region" will not occur before 1997.

After meeting many Chinese leaders, Professor Lin Ta-kuang [2651 6671 0342] of Canada's McGill University indicated, on 12 October in Hong Kong, that China may handle the issue of Hong Kong's future in three stages: 1. British administration in the short run, 2. followed by a transitional period of "special administrative region" which will last for a long period of time and 3. finally becoming a part of China's territory.

The key is when the second stage will start. Lin Ta-kuang feels that, after China regains sovereignty, the British will continue to administer the area, i.e., the second stage will not immediately start after 1997. However, whether Britain will agree to remain in Hong Kong and manage it after China regains sovereignty seems to be the focus of "maintaining prosperity" in the negotiations. Should Britain be unable to accept the management power under Chinese sovereignty, then the first stage mentioned by Lin Ta-kuang will begin prior to the recovery of sovereignty in 1997. In other words, Britain will continue to control the area and render cooperation before China regains sovereignty in 1997, in order to facilitate the transition to the second stage ("special administrative region" under Chinese sovereignty). On this issue, China must also exert itself toward Britain at the negotiation table.

Thus, according to China's intent, Hong Kong's future developmental direction has two possibilities: 1. a short period of British administration after 1997 before the transitional period of a "special administrative region;" 2. advance preparations, upon the conclusion of Sino-British negotiations, for a transitional period of a "special administrative region" in 1997.

On the part of Britain, naturally its first choice is to renew the lease in 1997, but it appears that this cannot be accomplished. Next, it appears that Britain will not reject the method of recognizing China's sovereignty in exchange for its ruling power in Hong Kong. However, if Britain is to rule the area, the supreme head of Hong Kong will be responsible to the British parliament, which is something which China cannot accede to. China's demand for sovereignty is to regain the ruling power. However, if Hong Kong's supreme head is only nominally responsible to Beijing and if Britain is willing to cooperate in the management of Hong



Kong, it will mean setting up a concrete management power under the ruling power. According to some sources, China hopes to use this pattern to transit to a "special administrative region" under Chinese sovereignty.

The determination of Hong Kong's future must finally still depend on further negotiations between the two sides in the future. Though the summit meeting this time was not such a "favorable beginning" as propagandized in diplomatic language, the two sides at least agreed to "carry out negotiations by diplomatic means" in the future. Negotiations are protracted, and naturally also secret. From the first-round meeting this time, a preliminary outline of Hong Kong's future can be sketched. Nevertheless, there are still many loose ends. It is hoped that, in the coming long negotiations, a clear perspective will gradually emerge.

6080

CSO: 4005/2

## PRESIDENT EASES CONTROLS

Colombo SUN in English 16 Nov 82 p 13

[Text]

**MALE, (Maldives)** — Maldivian President Maumoon Abdul Gayoom, who holds his tiny island state on a tight leash, is planning constitutional changes that in the long run could bring some political freedom to this Moslem country.

The Maldivian leader, in power for the past four years, has said his government wanted to introduce constitutional and administrative reforms to replace the country's present autocratic system of government with democracy.

President Gayoom rules his country of some 2,000 low-lying coral islands with near absolute authority, exercising wide-ranging executive, legislative and judicial powers.

There are no political parties in Maldives, but the country has a citizens' Majlis (Parliament) of 40 elected members and eight nominated by the President.

Analysts say in theory the Majlis is the supreme law-making body, but in effect it is mainly an adjunct of the executive.

President Gayoom had set December as the deadline for the Majlis to pass the new constitution, but one of his Cabinet colleagues said: "That is being very optimistic. The final draft is yet to be completed."

President Gayoom told Reuters in a recent interview that the Majlis decided to have a new constitution because the existing one was incomplete in many ways.

He said the new constitution will clearly spell out the fundamental rights of the people, the position of the state organs, the powers and duties of the chief executive and the

relationship between the citizens and the state.

"The government has expanded in the past few years and we should have a clearer idea of its responsibilities and functions", President Gayoom said.

The 46-year-old Maldivian leader took over in 1978 from President Ibrahim Nasir who retired after heading the government for 20 years.

Mr. Nasir, who now lives in Singapore, was accused of being behind an abortive coup to overthrow President Gayoom three years ago with the help of nine European mercenaries. He denied the charge.

In the past four years, President Gayoom has brought about major changes in the Maldivian economy and opened his country of 157,300 people to the outside world.

Asian diplomats here say the Egyptian-educated Maldivian leader has tried to preserve the Islamic faith and at the same time allowed the country to benefit from Western-style economic policies.

Among the aims of the new constitution, officials say, is to decentralise the administration and give greater autonomy to the 19 atolls, but there is unlikely to be any change in the presidential form of government.

Officials also do not see any immediate prospects of political parties emerging in the country, though the present constitution gives citizens the right to form societies and associations.

President Gayoom said he would not try to prevent political groups from forming, but

people in his country have no reason for them.

"We are a closely knit community, sharing the same ethnic origin, the same language and religion. Most political parties are formed because certain sections of the people think they are deprived of certain rights and privileges and would like to defend or acquire them.

"These circumstances do not exist in our country", President Gayoom said.

Government ministers say Majlis members as representatives of the people are free to criticise the administration and air popular grievances.

But independent-minded legislators say criticism is not easy as most of them also hold government jobs.

CSO: 4200/155

# ZIA PROMISES OUTLINE OF NEW POLITICAL SET-UP

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 21 Nov 82 p 1

[Text]

President Zia-ul-Haq said in Lahore on Saturday that the blueprint of future political system for Pakistan would be announced before August 14 next.

Talking to newsmen at the Lahore Airport the President said that he had promised with the nation for a new political system and he would fulfil it before the next Independence Day. He said that he would also take the people in confidence at an appropriate time about the pace of work in this connection.

About the possibility of holding elections in Pakistan the President said that environment was not yet conducive. He said that the election process had already been started in the form of updating electoral rolls.

When his attention was invited to the statements of Khwaja Safdar and Mr. Mahmood Haroon that an agreement with politicians was possible if they agree to the role of the Armed Forces in the Constitution, the President said that it was their view. 'However', he observed, 'we would like a unified political activity by all segments of society in Pakistan. May it be the military, civil, ulema, lawyers or politicians. There should be concerted efforts for the solidarity and stability of Pakistan'.

Gen. Zia-ul-Haq said that whosoever can contribute towards the stability of Pakistan

would be required to do so in accordance with a given programme."

The role of Armed Forces in any country, he said was, defined. It would be the same in Pakistan as anywhere else. There was no dispute over it. The problem, he said, was not about defining the role of the army. It concerned with the activity of political parties.

Asked how long would it take to hold the elections the President said that if the elections assured definite stability of Pakistan "I would order it tomorrow". But he thought that things were going smooth for the past five years and a half.

Replying to a question about the possibility of drawing any parallel for Pakistan with the political systems of Indonesia and Malaysia, the President said that every country had its own peculiarities. A good student learns from every where but he learns more from his own environment rather than from outside.

The Punjab Governor and high civil and military officers received the President at the Airport. Later, the President was seen off by them on his departure back to Islamabad in the evening.

APP adds: President Gen. Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq reaffirmed that he would announce a viable political framework for the country by August 14 next.

The President also said that

the elections to the national and provincial legislatures in the absence of a political framework, which was on the anvil, would not yield positive results.

Asked when did he visualise elections in the country, he said, "the procedure is already in vogue. It is the question of holding national and provincial assembly elections for which, as I have said earlier, and say now, that the present environment is not conducive".

Replying to a question, the President said that at present the Government had no intention to lift ban on the political activities in the country.

CSO: 4200/146

## MAHBUB SPEAKS OUT AGAINST NATIONALIZATION

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Nov 82 pp 1, 8

[Text]

**KARACHI, Nov. 22:** Dr. Mahbubul Haq, Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, today said nationalisation of private industry would neither help labour nor the country unless it led to more investment, production, employment and higher wages.

He was speaking at the Institute of Labour Education and Research at the National Liaquat Library this evening.

Dr. Haq said there was no use of turning over an enterprise run by a hardworking entrepreneur to the bureaucrats for managing things inefficiently and uneconomically.

The Deputy Chairman pointed out that such a nationalisation meant expansion of the bureaucratic sector. It was not socialism he added.

Dr. Haq believed that the resources of the public and private sectors should be pooled to quicken the pace of economic development and extend badly needed social services to the people.

He said he would not like to talk on land reforms which needed very careful consideration. He said all previous land reforms were an exercise in futility. Hardly one per cent of the agricultural lands were resumed from big landowners and that too were barren and fallow. It was no use introducing reforms which will not satisfy the

people or impart any benefit.

Dr. Mahbubul Haq also called for end to public and private sector controversy and conflicts between labour and management. He said a lot of national energy was used in negative pursuits. Labour and management should work as a family.

The Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, also called upon the labour and other sections of the population to participate in the economic development of the country by paying for the services they need.

Earlier Nabi Ahmad, a labour leader, strongly pleaded for land reforms to improve the lot of the small cultivators and landless peasants. He also opposed the official move to hand over nationalised units to the erstwhile owners, who evaded taxes, fleeced consumers, under-paid labour and transferred their wealth abroad.

Mr. Nabi said the nationalised ghee units were now doing better than when they were under private management. He said labour now received better wages and more facilities; the consumer had been assured of a more stable price; and the government got more taxes and the nation as a whole had benefited from increased production.

The labour leader said he did not stand for any 'ism', or for bureaucratisation of economy but was for running of industry by government and workers.

Speakers included Sultan Ahmed, a leading journalist, Kaiser Bengali, a university teacher and Mr. Karamat of the Institute of Labour Education and Research.

**AGENCIES ADD:** The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission called for public participation through a national debate in the preparation of the country's Sixth Five Year Plan. Dr. Mahbubul Haq said no planning could be successful without the participation of the people.

He said it was essential to find out the views and aspirations of the people about their economic future.

Elucidating the basic philosophy for the next Plan he said it aimed at improving the lot of the common men particularly of these who lived in the rural areas by way of giving better amenities of life.

Social sectors, Dr. Haq pointed out, have already started receiving priority consideration, which was evident in the current fiscal year's budget which has shown substantial rise in resource allocation for improving electric supply, water supply and provision of facilities like primary education and health.

The same philosophy he said would pervade the Sixth Five Year Plan, which would suggest measures to improve income distribution as well as provision of basic infrastructure facilities and amenities like health and education.

CSO: 4200/145

GHAFOR SAYS ELECTIONS CAN DO NO HARM

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Nov 82 p 8

[Text]

KARACHI, Nov. 22: The Naib Amir of the defunct Jamm' at-e-Islami, Prof. Ghafoor Ahmed has said the general elections will not cause any harm to the country's integrity.

He dispelled the notion that the country was dismembered after the 1970 general elections. "The damage to the country was done because the elections results were not accepted", he added.

Prof. Ghafoor was speaking during a question-answer session of a programme organised by the Students Union of Dawood Engineering College here today.

Answering questions put by the students he said Jammat-e-Islami was not responsible for the imposition of Martial Law in the country.

He said three component parties of the defunct Pakistan National Alliance had put pres-

sure on the PNA negotiating team to discontinue the dialogue saying that the then Prime Minister would not hold fair elections even if he signed an agreement. The leaders of these three PNA component parties had suggested that impartial elections were possible under Martial Law Government.

Prof. Ghafoor did not disclose the names of those political parties.

He said his party leaders had opposed the imposition of Martial Law.

Prof. Ghafoor agreed that some politician had committed mistakes but added that political leaders could not be blamed for the prevailing conditions in the country, because the political process had not been allowed to continue for 25 years.

Prof. Ghafoor told a questioner that Pakistan was created in the name of Islam and others who say contrary to this, were distorting the history.

CSO: 4200/145

# RAWALPINDI LAWYERS' PROTEST REPORTED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Nov 82 p 1

[Text]

RAWALPINDI, Nov. 21: The Rawalpindi bench of High Court Bar Association and District Bar Association held a joint meeting here today, to support the members of Karachi Bar Association and demands of lawyers community. The meeting decided unanimously to observe complete strike tomorrow (Nov. 22) with total boycott of all courts.

The meeting also passed resolutions demanding restoration of the 1973 Constitution, holding of general elections in the country and transfer of power to elected representatives of the people under this Constitution, withdrawal of amendments in Bar Councils Act, restitution of powers of higher courts, immediate release of political leaders, lawyers, students and labour leaders and annulment of sentences awarded by military courts.

The meeting also demanded immediate lifting of the Martial Law, and abolition of Summary Military Courts, and urged the government not to change the present

judicial system and the current laws.

KARACHI BUREAU ADDS: Lawyers will boycott the courts and stage demonstrations inside the court premises here tomorrow to press for the acceptance of their demands, in accordance with the decision of the national co-ordination committee of the country's different bar associations.

According to Karachi Bar Association sources the KBA after a general body meeting at 11 a.m. in its office will take out a procession a round the court premises to demonstrate the lawyers resolve to continue their struggle till final victory.

The secretary of KBA, Farooque Naik has appealed to the litigants whose cases are fixed for tomorrow not to pressurise their lawyers to appear before the courts.

He also asked the government to realise the gravity of the situation and concede the demands of the legal community before it was too late.

CSO: 4200/144



TOTAL STRIKE BY LAWYERS REPORTED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Nov 82 pp 1, 8

[Article by Azhar Masood & Anwar Iqbal & From Bureaus]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Nov. 22: The lawyers community observed complete strike today throughout the country on the call of the National Co-ordination Committee of the Bar Councils and boycotted court proceedings including that of the Supreme Court, the High Courts, Sessions Court, District Courts and other courts.

Reports reaching from all the four provincial headquarters - Karachi, Lahore, Peshawar and Quetta - show that the strike was observed even at smaller cities and towns.

Lawyers in Islamabad claimed that according to the information received from other parts of the country this strike was, perhaps, the most successful strike ever observed by their community. They pledged to continue their struggle till their demands were met. The demands included restoration of 1973 constitution, withdrawal of the amendments in the Legal Practitioners and Councils' Act, immediate release of all the political detenus, restitution of powers of courts, lifting of Martial Law and Press censorship, annulment of sentences awarded by military courts and abolition of summary military courts.

The lawyers in Rawalpindi completely boycotted the proceedings at the Supreme Court of Pakistan, the Bench of Lahore High Court, District and Session Courts and other civil courts. The decision to boycott the courts was adopted unanimously here yesterday by the High Court Bar Association and the District Bar Association.

In view of the boycott the judges and the magistrates extended the dates of all those cases which

were to be heard today.

In the District and High Courts' premises the protesting lawyers also put up banners displaying their various demands.

The Bar Associations had earlier formed a panel to inspect and ensure that no lawyer appeared before a court. There was only one case where one lawyer appeared before the High Court Bench.

In one of the District Courts a judge called the lawyer to plead a case but he did not turn up. Following this the judge dismissed the case.

Though all the courts were heavily cordoned off by the police the boycotting lawyers remained peaceful. There was no attempt at raising any slogans or making any speech.

The clients of the protesting lawyers did not show any resentment at the decision of their lawyers to boycott the courts, rather they garlanded them. The local convener of the MRD also visited the District Courts and garlanded the protesting lawyers.

The Federal Secretary Law, Justice C.A. Rehman, when contacted by the Muslim said, "all High Courts in Sind, Punjab and the NWFP functioned today. The government did not take any notice of the boycott of the lawyers and there is also no question of entering into any kind of negotiations with the representatives of the Bar Associations".

IN LAHORE: Abid Hasan Minto, President Lahore High Court Bar Association, described as "voluntary", the strike all over Punjab by the lawyers.

As a sequel to the strike a joint session of the Lahore High Court and District Bar Associations was also held which two political leaders, Taj Mohammad Langah and

Chaudhry Mohammad Ashraf, addressed as resolved by the previous joint session of the two Bars, in regard to inviting political leaders to the Bar.

Abid Hasan Minto in his opening remarks said that future of the country seemed bleak without the 1973 Constitution. He said that lawyers were engaged in a peaceful struggle not for their personal benefit but for democracy, rule of law and democratically elected government which was a national issue. He was happy over a complete and voluntary strike by lawyers community which he said was in support of the struggle by the Karachi lawyers.

A resolution, moved by A.R. Arshad, President District Bar Association, was also adopted by the joint secretary session which resolved to demand release of lawyers arrested in the struggle.

IN KARACHI: The lawyers today observed complete boycott of the courts in accordance with the decision of the Managing Committee of Karachi Bar Association, taken previously in consultation with the Presidents of the Lahore and Peshawar High Court Bar Associations.

At 11 a.m. a protest meeting was held in the Karachi Bar Association premises, with Khalid Hamid, Acting President of KBA, in the chair. The meeting was addressed by 13 lawyers which included for the first time members from Sind High Court Bar Association, Sind Bar Council, Baluchistan High Court Bar Association and District Bar Association, Shikarpur.

All speakers unanimously emphasised the need to continue the struggle until all professed objectives were achieved.

The speakers also appealed to the political parties to discharge their national responsibilities and accelerate the process of a country-wide peoples struggle for the lifting of Martial Law, the restoration of 1973 Constitution, the immediate holding of free and fair elec-

tions and the repeal of all black laws.

After the meeting a procession was brought out with placards and banners voicing the demands of the lawyers community.

volunteers who will court arrest along with the lawyers.

IN PESHAWAR and other parts of the Frontier Province the lawyers observed complete strike today as part of their struggle for the restoration of the people's rights.

The community did not attend any court, hoisted black flags at the Bar premises and held protest meetings. In Peshawar the High Court Bar Association and the District Bar Association held a joint meeting in the District Bar with the latter's President Dost Mohammad Khan in the chair.

The meeting also demanded that no pacts should be signed with any foreign government in future and that Press censorship be lifted.

IN FAISALABAD: Lawyers observed complete strike in compliance with the decision of Lahore High Court Bar Association and refrained from appearing in local courts for the whole day. As a token of protest lawyers wore black armbands. They demanded restoration of democracy, termination of Martial Law and withdrawal of legal amendments.

According to information collected by the correspondent the Muslim in Faisalabad lawyers of Districts Tobatek Singh, Jhang, Sargodha, Mianwali Khoushab and Bhakkar also boycotted the courts today.

IN SIALKOT: District as well as four Sub-Divisional Bar Associations boycotted all criminal, civil and revenue courts today to express their resentment over various steps taken by the government for "disintegration of the lawyers profession".

# PAGARA LEAGUE ANNOUNCES SUPPORT FOR LAWYERS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Nov 82 p 8

[Article by Salim Bokhari]

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Nov. 22: The defunct Pakistan Muslim League (Pagara Group) has announced full support to the lawyers' struggle being waged by them for the independence of judiciary, legal profession and restoration of democracy in the country. The announcement came in the shape of a resolution passed here today in a meeting of the Working Committee at Pir Pagara's residence.

The resolution said that the lawyers had been in the forefront during the Pakistan Movement and even after the Independence, they had taken part in all movements against tyranny and dictatorship. It said that PML was whole-heartedly with the lawyers in their just struggle and condemned the recently introduced amendments in Legal Practitioners and Bar Council Act. The resolution demanded immediate release of lawyers detained during the current movement.

In another resolution passed today, the PML condemned the highhandedness of an organisation against the office-bearers of the Muslim Students Federation. It demanded that the government should take immediate action to eliminate hooliganism from the educational institutions. It added that there was a general feeling among the people that these institutions were dumps of ammunition. It called it a duty of the government to stop such elements from creating a law and order situation in the country.

In yet another resolution, the League reiterated its stand on the question of the Kashmir dispute.

It held that the conflict should be solved according to the resolutions of the United Nations adopted in 1948 and 1949. The only way to solve the Kashmir issue was self-determination by the people of the valley, it added. It said the League will not accept any other solution of this issue.

Later, talking to newsmen PML President Pir Pagara said it was a wrong impression that the League has sabotaged the holding of the round-table conference. He said even if the PML did not participate, the remaining parties should have sat together. "Why then did they fail to hold the RTC?" he asked. Explaining further, he said it was not possible for him to sign a document without seeing or reading it. He said it was the earnest desire of his party that every participating party should be provided an opportunity to present its viewpoint. It was with this thing in mind that the League had prepared a resolution of its own. Pir Pagara said his party had proposed it much earlier that all the participating units should present their resolution which would be circulated among all the members by the host.

Pir Saheb stated MRD has said that the RTC could not take place because its leaders were externed from the province. He said it was a wrong plea, since it was decided that if the leaders would not be in position to participate, the respective parties will send their nominees who will attend the conference on their behalf.

He said the League was drafting another resolution which will be in complete accord with the requirements of the situation in the country and will be moderate enough in nature to be acceptable to the people of Pakistan. The PML chief however, made it clear that

the resolution being drafted will have an umbrella of the last one which the PML wanted to distribute during the RTC. He said if this was the feeling among certain political circles that RTC could not be held because PML did not participate, it was an ample proof that the League was an important party. Then what was the reason that its resolution was not accepted at the time of holding the RTC? he asked.

To a question, Pir Pagara said there was no use meeting with the President since the League and he were working on different lines and "there is no meeting point". He said the impression that there was a similarity of views among the defunct Jamaat-e-Islami and his League was unfounded and termed it as a misunderstanding of the situation.

When asked if the President of Pakistan would be invited in any proposed RTC in the future, he said, "We have no place for him in our folds. How could we invite a watchman who has become the owner of the house?"

Asked if he would demand release of the detained political leaders, Pir Pagara said he would not make any such demand on the plea that they should be freed to participate in the RTC and added otherwise PML was all for the release of political leaders.

When asked to comment on the report that President Zia has promised a new political structure by Aug. 14, he said, "How could we believe such a statement from him and particularly when he has not clearly said in which year", and added, "it may be in 1993." He said the situation has worsened since 1977 and as long as the present regime stayed in power it would continue to be worsen. Replying to a question he said, "How could I be satisfied with the current situation in the country and added, "even the President himself is not satisfied".

On the Afghan refugees problem, Pir Pagara said the refugees were handed over to Jamaat-e-Islami while all the other political

parties were barred from meeting them.

Earlier, S.M. Zafar a PML leader, also briefed the Press. He said that PML has passed a resolution today on the Kashmir question in the background of Press reports and particularly the statements of Farooq Abdullah which had been given wide publicity by the Indian Press. It may be noted that Farooq Abdullah has proposed that the present borders should be accepted as international frontiers by the concerned parties.

Mr. Zafar said the efforts to unite political parties of the country should continue. He said his League strongly believed that there was no question of any improvement in the situation until the general elections were held.

He said the League has authorised its President Pir Saheb to negotiate with any political party on the possibilities of holding another round-table conference.

It may be noted that today was 55th birthday of Pir Pagara which he celebrated by cutting a 55-pound cake specially prepared by a local baker for the occasion. When asked Pir Saheb said the occasion of birthday was just a way of getting together.

When a correspondent asked if President Zia has sent a birthday gift to him, Pir Pagara said he has sent six security personnel who were standing outside the main gate of his residence and added that he had invited them to come in and join the birthday party but they had refused to do so.

Several prominent PML leaders including Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Afzal Khan Jadoon, Yusaf Khattak, Ahmed Saeed Kirmani besides party workers were present on the occasion.

According to party sources, Sardar Shaukat Hayat had to face battery of criticism by a large number of speakers for his statements against the Father of the Nation. The sources said ultimately, Sardar Shaukat had to explain the whole thing to the meeting and denied having said anything that was against the personality of the Quaid. . . . .

BRITISH TEAM VISITS REFUGEE VILLAGE

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 21 Nov 82 p 8

[Text]

PESHAWAR, Nov. 20: The visiting three-member British delegation led by the Chairman of the Afghan Support Committee in Britain, Lord Carnborne now in Peshawar visited the Afghan refugees tentage village at Kachagarhi near Peshawar.

Talking to the refugees, the leader of the delegation, Lord Carnborne said that they had now better understanding of their problems and sufferings and assured that they would continue to mobilise public opinion in the West for their assistance.

He admired the courage, fortitude and the love for freedom of the Afghan people and expressed the hope that they would eventually emerge successful.

Mr. James Tins, a Labour MP and member of the delegation who also spoke on the occasion appreciated the Pakistan Government's spirit for providing shelter and other humanitarian assistance to such a large number of Afghan refugees.

The members of the delegation also visited a dispensary and a school set up for the refugees children at the tentage village.

Later the visiting delegation drove through the historic Khyber Pass and had a view of Pak Afghan border at Tor-kham.—APP.

ADMINISTRATION WARNED ON REFUGEES: 'GUEST, NOTHING MORE'

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Nov 82 p 4

[Text]

WHATEVER the ulterior motive of the provincial branch of the MRD in Peshawar, its denunciation of elements trying to involve the Afghan refugees in Pakistan's politics will generally be approved by the people of this country. These three million and more displaced persons from our fraternal country of Afghanistan have been accommodated in the Frontier province and are being looked after by the authorities purely on humanitarian grounds with the hope that they would return to their own homeland as soon as the Afghan crisis blows over and foreign troops withdraw from their soil. They have not been received with open arms to be absorbed in this country's population as an integral part of Pakistan's citizenry and granted the right of franchise. It would be a blatant abuse of Islamabad's hospitality if the refugees begin to dabble in local politics or even respond to the vested interests seeking to draw them into the ambit of political activity in the country.

Quite a number of Afghan nationals granted asylum have already gone into several parts of this country. Quite a few of them are seen in transport business here, and not a few have had identity cards made obviously with intent to settle down permanently in this country. There are reports that some, who brought their liquid assets with them, have been buying real estate here. While these in themselves are disconcerting developments, their interference in politics can create serious complications. If some of them trickle into the political arena and identify themselves with one political party or another, their other compatriots too could be persuaded to emulate the example of the pioneers in this direction. That could open the floodgates for the rest of them and upset the equilibrium of the NWFP politics and also constitute a major threat if these guests of ours, with their numerical strength, should claim to form a constituency of their own.

Considering the massive number of Afghan refugees who have fled their country for a safe niche in the northern and north-western fringes of Pakistan, it is easy to understand that it could not have been easy for the Government to keep a tab on each one of them and prevent their spread to other parts of the country. But it is now a manifest duty of the authorities to take cognizance of the elements trying to indoctrinate them in their own political philosophy and draw like-minded refugees to propagate that philosophy among their compatriots.

Additionally, the arbiters of this country's destiny need to take stock of the situation and adopt deterrent measures before any grave harm is done to the nation's solidarity. The MRD may not be much in favour with the authorities, but the warning they have given from Peshawar needs to be heeded and effective measures are required to be taken before things go out of hand.

CSO: 4200/144

NATIONS URGED TO SHARE BURDEN OF REFUGEE EXPENSES

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 23 Nov 82 p 4

[Text] President Zia-ul-Haq, speaking at the banquet given in honour of Romania's President, Mr. Nicolae Ceausescu, has stated that Pakistan is bearing the financial burden of caring for 2.8 million Afghan refugees exiled on its soil and has asked the world community to come to their help. The figure of 2.8 million is a conservative estimate, based on actual registration with the representative of UNHCR in Pakistan. There may be thousands more who have crossed over without going through the formality of registering themselves. As the Soviet military operations become intense in Afghanistan during summers the stream of refugees reaches the figure of 80,000 per month, slackening off during winters when the snows hamper passage on the mountains. When UNHCR High Commissioner Poul Hartling read out his report on the refugees before a committee at the U.N. this year, Pakistan's delegate intervened with an appeal to the conscience of the world for more assistance to the Afghans in exile.

While Pakistan is determined to provide shelter and succour to them as long as they are unable to return to their homes peacefully and honourably, the expenses incurred by it on the world's largest concentration of refugees are putting a heavy strain on its financial resources. It is seeking a political solution to the crisis in Afghanistan caused by foreign intervention and has engaged in indirect talks under the aegis of the U.N. Secretary-General in this regard but the problem of looking after the Afghan citizens on its soil is a responsibility to be shared by the growing majority of nations inside the U.N. General Assembly who annually vote against the continuing aggression in Afghanistan. Pakistan will spend almost 500 million dollars this year on the requirements of food for women, children and the aged camped mostly in its North-Western Province. In addition, tents and houses have to be provided, camp hospitals have to be set up and stocked with medicine and schools have to be built and operated for children who are already here more than two years. The assistance that the world is providing to the refugees through UNHCR is not adequate to meet all these irreducible requirements and Pakistan will this year spend 300 million dollars from its own meagre resources. While it is counting on the U.N. General Assembly to rally round the cause of the refugees it also expects the well-to-do nations to donate generously for their upkeep and share some of the financial burden incurred by Pakistan in this regard.



OVER 200,000 REFUGEES TO BE SETTLED IN MIANWALI

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 22 Nov 82 p 5

[Text]

LIAQUATABAD, Nov. 21: Work was going on briskly on the rehabilitation of two lakh Afghan refugees in Tehsil Esakhel, it was disclosed by Deputy Commissioner (Mianwali) M.D. Chaudhry.

Talking to newsmen he said that refugee camps were being set up at the foot of mountains a few miles off Kot Chandna a village on the Mianwali-Bannu Road. He added that all the relevant departments have accelerated the pace of their respective works. Besides Highways, Public Health and Forest Departments, high-ranking officers of other departments, he said, were personally supervising the work. While a temporary road up to the camps has been completed, the water supply project was nearing completion, he added.

The D.C. further disclosed that hundreds of bulldozers were busy day and night levelling the ground. The Forest Department has already carried out the plantation of ornamental trees on both sides of the road, while work on the construction of mosques and schools would be completed by December next. He added that the District Food Department has issued tenders for the supply of wheat and sugar to the Afghan refugees. He hoped that the refugees would start coming to the camps by early December for settlement there.

# ZIA HAS BUSY DAY WITH TROOPS

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 21 Nov 82 p 8

[Text]

President General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq spent a busy day with the troops in their training area today, says a Press release of ISPR issued here today.

President General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq, who is also the Chief of Army Staff, during his visits to the Army units, engaged in their normal winter training, was accompanied by General F. S. Lodi Corps Commander and other Senior Army Officers.

Addressing the troops in the training areas, President General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq underlined the paramount importance of their professional training. His advise to them was train hard" adding that training during peace

time was Jihad. General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq said that only through training they enhance their professional capabilities which should be their prime objective.

In the training area, Gen. Zia was briefed by the local commanders and he witnessed a field training demonstration also during his stay with the troops.

Later, General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq informally met the troops and enquired about their training and welfare and gave them "shabash" on their commendable performance, dedication to duty and relentless efforts to imbibe the training imparted to them.

CSO: 4200/146

# SOUTH ASIAN WORKING GROUP CONFERENCE OPENS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Nov 82 p 3

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Nov. 22: The First meeting of the South Asian Working Group on Scientific and Technology Co-operation commenced here this morning to explore ways and means of increasing scientific and technological co-operation among the seven regional countries.

The delegates from Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka are participating in the deliberations of the three-day moot while Joint Secretary of the Ministry of Science and Technology, Hasan Nawab is the Co-ordinator from Pakistan-side and also Chairman of the Working Group.

Federal Secretary of the Ministry of Science and Technology, M. Masihuddin in his inaugural address at the opening session of the meeting stressed the need for co-operation in the field of science and technology among the developing countries in order to achieve self-sufficiency and self-reliance in their economic fields in

the shortest possible time.

However, he said, scientific and technological research called for heavy investment of capital and human resources which was certainly beyond the capabilities of a single country. The regional countries could reach a level of collective self reliance through mutual co-operation and sharing of expertise, experience and knowledge. Judicious regional co-operation in science and technology could be highly beneficial to all the participating countries, he added.

The Secretary said that already identified areas for co-operation such as energy, food, electronics, marine science, information and environment were important areas for the regional countries and should be given serious consideration in the present meeting. He suggested that initially the programmes may be developed for the exchange of data and information, organisation of regional workshops, seminars and symposia, and provision of training facilities in the over all context of the regional scientific and technology co-operation. —APP

# COMMENTARY ON BEGUM BHUTTO'S TRAVEL, OTHER ISSUES

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Nov 82 p 6

[Article by Aey Aey]

[Text]

BETTER late than never, Begum Bhutto has been allowed to go abroad for treatment.

Why it took two months and nine days to take a decision which could have been very well decided within a week is a question troubling every thinking mind in this country. It must be answered by those who are responsible for it.

I know that red tape of this regime is every bit as bad as that of previous ones, but the rub is that nobody appears to feel guilty, nor does anybody have the guts to make the concerned people at least apologise for the delay.

The other day an officer a friend of mine asked in strict confidence whether Mrs Bhutto was really suffering from a malignancy. That shows that despite the report of the Medical Board and the clearance by the government, a section belonging to the 'more loyal than the king' breed still has its doubts about the Begum's intentions, and are out to prove that the whole thing is a drama, the object behind which is political.

Begum Bhutto may be a dangerous political leader, a threat for some in the field but she should be politically contested instead of the praying for her physical elimination. This attitude is callous and criminal, and had never been in vogue among politicians and statesmen, however mean and of whatever stature they might have been. In politics, steel nerves are the basic requirement, even if one lacks big heart or broad mind. Little things should not panick us to the extent that we start praying for the physical elimination of our adversary instead of facing him or her.

It is true that aggrieved women are a threat to their adversaries Razia Sultana, Chand Bibi, Mrs.

Bandranake and Indra Gandhi are few examples from the past and present. But they have been faced by the people opposed to them, and similarly Begum Bhutto should be faced with courage and determination.

## ASHES

Maulana Noorani's round table conference proved to be a bang, wham whoosh affair. It began like fire and ended in ashes.

Some say, is Pir Sahib's stringent attitude let the Maulana down. Some are of the view that it was destined to this end. I do not know much about the inside story. But the fact remains that in the Subcontinent, a round table conference has never been fruitful may it be the one called by the British rulers, or the one called by the late Ayub Khan just before his fall.

The reason, in my opinion, is that these conference are called not to find solutions to the problems, but to wriggle out of them. The present attempt was also to find a way to avert the coming storm, to find a refuge from its expected disaster, and hence a failure.

The other possible cause of the failure might be that we are so much used to a change with a bang that any effort for a peaceful transfer of power does not impresses us much.

No doubt, this attitude is bad and has already truncated the country by more than half. But the problem is that according to Cicero, only wise men can be instructed by reason.

## LAWYERS

Lawyers in Karachi are still angry. Since the arrest of their president, Abdul Hafiz Lakho and joint secretary, Abdul Malik Khan, they have presented four batches to

court arrest. All were freed a few hours after their arrest except for Qazi Abdul Ghani, formerly secretary of Begum Nusrat Bhutto, who has been detained for three months and has been transferred to Hyderabad Central Jail.

The other day I asked a lawyer friend how many more would go behind bars. 'As many as required to settle the issue,' he came the reply.

I do not know whether the lawyers have the stamina and determination to fulfil the great responsibility they have taken upon themselves. But a spark kindles a big fire. This much I know for certain.

#### SCHEME

Mian Tufail Mohammad of Jamaat-e-Islami has come out with a unique scheme to solve all the country's problem. It envisages a united front or alliance with the religious parties.

In his opinion, collaboration with secular parties has always resulted in a Martial Law. Only unity among religious parties like J.I. JUI and JUP can guarantee a permanent democratic order.

Well I think Mian Sahib should be given a chance, but the problem is that the parties Mian Sahib has named are so far a part from each other that their attending even a social gathering together is also not

possible. Political unity is a much more serious affair.

Another suggestion for political unity has come from one Mr. Tanvir Hussaini of a political party called Charib Awam Party.

He wants the 28 parties which according to him exist in the country to merge into two parties. One is the Pakistan Muslim League, and the other is the Watan League. He did not take the trouble to give the address of the latter, but insisted on its existence.

He also chalked out a programme for transfer of power to the elected representatives of the people which is four phased and would be completed by the end of 1984.

He is also in favour of giving a constitutional role to armed forces and a presidential system for the country, besides the creation of two new provinces, Bhawalpur and Karachi.

I think he should also be given a chance. Let's see what he does because during the last 35 years, so many experiments have been allowed, why not give a chance to a man of lesser significance.

We have been bitten so many times and never become shy. It will not make much difference if he also is allowed to bite once.

# KHAR'S BROTHER'S BAIL PLEA REJECTED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Nov 82 p 6

[Text]

MUZAFFARGARH, Nov. 22: The Special Judge Anti-corruption Multan camp at Muzaffargarh has rejected the bail release of Ghulam Miladi Khar brother of Ex-Chief Minister Punjab, Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khan, in ten cases registered under sections 420, 468, and 471 PPC and 5/2/47 of Anti-corruption Act for attestation of fictitious loan applications.

The court termed the bail application as premature and said the contention of Sardar Manzoor Ahmed Khan counsel for the petitioner, for the grant of bail is forceful but the petitioner is detained under MLR, where in bail is not necessary.

According to the prosecution Ghulam Miladi Khan had attested ten applications for total loans about Rs. 4000,000 when his brother was Chief Minister of the Punjab. Afterwards these applications were found to be fictitious.

Meanwhile, Lahore High Court Multan Bench has ordered a stay of the proceedings in the court of special judge a anti-corruption Multan until Jan. 29, 1983, against the Chairman Zila Council a Coun-

cillor and some officials under section 468, 471, 109 and 5/2/47 of anti corruption act.

The Court had already recorded the evidence of the prosecution Sheikh Mohammad Akhtar advocate council of the accused did not start their defence as the Lahore High Court had ordered a stay of the proceedings until further orders.

According to the prosecution Chairman District Council Muzaffargarh Malik Ghulam Murtaza Ghazi Khar councillor Mohammed Iqbal Alipur then Chief Officer Kanwar Ashfaq Ahmed then Distt. Engineers Abdul Razzaq darogha-e-Baghat Ghulam Shabbir Bukhari two contractors Abdul Sattar and Faiz Mohammad allegedly misused the public funds tampered with the 150 official record and sub standard construction.

All the accuseds were present in the court and a large number of people gathered there to hear the case.

The case was registered on a complaint of opposition councillors and was pursued by anti-corruption established with the Punjab Government.

CSO: 4200/145

COUNCIL MEMBERS' APPOINTMENT AS JUDGES CRITICIZED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Nov 82 p 6

[Text]

GUJRANWALA, Nov. 22: Sheikh Bashir Ahmad, Senior Vice President Punjab of defunct Muslim League Khawaja Khair-ud-Din Group and District Secretary and Executive Member of Punjab Muslim League, Advocate, Ghulam Rasool, Sandhu, in a joint statement strongly criticised the decision of the government of Pakistan of placing the nominated members of the Federal Council (Majlis-e-Shoor-a) as justice of Peace all over the Punjab.

They said the people of Pakistan had already been deprived of their fundamental rights and civil liberties for the last five years, but despite this the present regime was far from satisfied with the situation of deprivation.

They said people who were not liked even by those of their own respective constituencies, had been given honour and status

against the will and consent of the people, as their elected representatives. Moreover, they said, these individuals were being thrust on their minds as justice of peace. They said, while there were a number of agencies for maintaining law and order what was the reason for giving the positions of justice of peace to those who were disliked.

They demanded the government of Pakistan take back this decision and not use public funds on these unwanted luxuries for they are accountable for each penny spent as this money belongs to the people of Pakistan.

The Muslim League leaders reiterated that the drama of posting justices of peace was no answer to the problems faced by the country. They said the situation in the country required the rule of law, restitution of basic rights of the people, the freedom of judiciary and press, the restoration of unanimously admitted and approved constitution of 1973 and returning of armed forces of the country back to the pavilion.

CSO: 4200/145

ARTS COLLEGE STUDENTS PROTEST

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Nov 82 p 8

[Text]

LAHORE, Nov. 22: A representative delegation of students of National College of the Arts (NCA) is leaving for Islamabad tomorrow to meet the Acting Chairman of the Education Committee of Board of Governors, Sheikh Imtiaz Ali who is also the Vice-Chancellor of Quaid-i-Azam University.

The delegation headed by Raza Ali Khan, President Students Guild will apprise the Acting Chairman of prevailing discontentment in the college following decision by the Committee regarding reinstatement of three students.

Meanwhile, boycott of classes is stated to be continued till realisation of demands.

Earlier, the students held a huge demonstration by squatting in front of Governor's House for about one and half hours to show their solidarity on this issue.

In the morning when a bus full of NCA students attempted to leave the college they were stopped by the police who would not allow it to proceed.

The students then left the college in trickles so as not to attract attention of the police. Some jumped over the back walls of NCA and using public transport reached Governor's House where they unfurled their banners and posters. Within a few minutes however, a Punjab University bus arrived carrying the opposite group of students and their supporters. This group chanted slogans such as NCA is a "Kanjara Khana" (NCA is a brothel) and also demanded its closure. NCA students, however remained silent and unprovoked.

CSO: 4200/145



GOVERNMENT TO RESOLVE STEEL MELTING PROBLEMS

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 22 Nov 82 p 5

[Text]

The Federal Production Secretary, Mr. Hassan Zaheer, has said that Government would take appropriate measures to resolve the crisis gripping the steel melting industry.

Talking to a delegation of the Pakistan Steel Melters Association in Lahore on Sunday, he said that Government was aware of the problems being faced by the steel melters due to big price differential between ship plate and ingots and increase in electricity charges.

The PSMA delegation apprised the Production Secretary of the crisis faced by the industry due to the cost differential of over Rs. 2,000 between the ship plate and ingot produced by the local steel melting units. Ship plate was selling cheaper because of rapid fall in prices of old ships in the international market. Steel mills were preferring cheap ship plate for manufacture of iron bars despite the fact that the bars manufactured from the fatigued material were sub-standard. They stressed the need for bridging the cost differential between ingots and ship plates by reducing the Customs Duty on scrap used for manufacture of ingots and re-fixing the Duty charged on ship plate.

CSO: 4200/146

## FRANCE TO HELP WITH PROJECTS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Nov 82 p 8

[Text]

KARACHI, Nov. 22: France and Pakistan are working on implementing fresh projects in Pakistan under the existing aid facilities for a total amount of 365 million francs, Mr. J. Goryn, French Ambassador to Pakistan disclosed in Karachi today.

Speaking at a meeting of Pakistan France Trade and Industry Committee, the two countries are also working on a host of other projects which may be made eligible to new financial protocol arrangements.

He also disclosed that 30 million francs were ear-marked for commodity aid to Pakistan in the last protocol.

Ambassador Gory said France, despite budgetary constraints has just renewed its aid commitments to Pakistan for a number of projects.

He said financial protocols signed on Oct. 27 last between the two governments provide for financing to the tune of 195 million francs which is immediately available for disbursement and have also committed France for the specific project of upgrading to 500 KV of Dadu and Jamshoro sub-stations and to provide extra financing, when it will be required, of 170 million francs.

"In other words, both countries are now working on implementing fresh projects under the existing aid facilities for a total amount of 365 million francs," he said.

Ambassador Gory stressed that the field for further increase in the two-way trade was also wide open. Pakistan products are gaining a solid reputation in France and may be exported in larger quantities,

within the existing framework of bilateral trade. French exports to Pakistan should also register a greater increase in the future as the general image of Pakistan in France is undoubtedly improving and the evolution of the exchange rate of hard currencies should also act strongly in favour of francs.

Referring to the trade pattern he said over the last few years, the overall figures of French exports to Pakistan, although showing a general trend of increase, have been characterised by erratic changes. He said he was glad to emphasise that the analysis of the contents of French exports to Pakistan, sector by sector showed that there was a steady growth of trading in equipment goods and chemicals.

Similarly, he said according to French trade statistics, Pakistan's exports to France more than doubled from 1977, when they amounted to 199 million francs to 1980 when they nearly hit 400 million francs, mark a sharp increase continued in 1981 when Pakistan's exports to France reached 582 million.

He said figures are not quite so good in 1982 as Pakistani exports to France have not exceeded 253 million francs for the first six months but the very last indications from the French board of statistics show that they have been picking up again rapidly over the last quarter.

Ambassador Gory was also of the view that the decline in Pakistan's trade with France which stood at 131 million francs in 1981 and to 70 million francs in 1982 would not appear significant in view of the amount of French aid and the amount of goods sold to Pakistan under special aid procedures. —PPI

## DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM FACILITIES URGED

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 22 Nov 82 p 6

[Text] The Fourth Pakistan Tourism Convention has come out with a comprehensive package of recommendations to revive the country's moribund tourist industry. These include all the desirable things that need to be done but have not yet been done for one reason or another. For instance, the moot has asked for incentives and concessions to the private sector and the hotel industry as well as tour operators and travel agents; and recommended that every effort be made to encourage private enterprise to invest in the sector. Encouragement has also been sought for domestic and youth tourism and the Government has been requested to set up tourist offices abroad for publicity and promotion. At the same time a strong demand has been made for special measures for the preservation of Pakistan's historical and archaeological heritage. Two other recommendations concern the establishment of a mountaineering training institute and an archaeological museum at Gilgit.

All these remedies to set the sector right are nothing new. They have been suggested many a time before but have yet to reach the implementation stage. No doubt, the Government has recently taken a number of steps to put new life in to the industry, but the kind of sustained attention that is necessary for its long-term health has yet to materialise. A number of new five-star hotels have come up in the last few years but has anyone considered how many tourists, whether foreign and local, can afford them? Our need is for standardised but inexpensive accommodation, and it as yet remains unfulfilled. Domestic tourism is another favourite topic, but what has PTDC done to promote it? Given the difficulties of transportation and exorbitant hotel rates both in the 'galis' and up in the north, very few average middle-class families can afford a one or two-week sojourn there. We often talk of lack of tourism promotion abroad, but we forget that this cannot precede but follow efforts to develop tourist infrastructure facilities inside the country which are largely absent at the moment. The upshot is that the time has come we stopped discussing in the thin air and proceeded ahead with concrete, tangible measures to fill the gaps in the tourism sector. It is to be hoped that the just-concluded Tourism Convention has generated the necessary amount of enthusiasm for that in the quarters concerned.

CSO: 420//146

# DRY PORT PLAN FOR NWFP DISCUSSED

Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 21 Nov 82 p 8

[Text]

NOVEMBER 20: A high-level meeting today discussed the proposed plan to establish a dry port for NWFP at Azakhel 18 miles from Peshawar.

During the meeting which was presided over by Mr. Salim Saifullah Provincial Minister for Industries the Chairman Sarhad Development Authority, Mr. Mohammad Azam Khan, outlined the salient features of the project and said that the need for setting up of the dry port had been felt by the business community of NWFP due to obvious advantage of clearing the imported consignments at Peshawar instead of Karachi.

The Chairman said that the establishment of a dry port near Peshawar would not only benefit the business community of NWFP but also the Attock, Rawalpindi and Jhelum districts as it would be more convenient for the business community of those areas to get their imported goods cleared at Azakhel and then go to Lahore where a dry port was already

functioning.

The Sarhad Development Authority, which has finalised the plan, would be responsible for operating the dry port.

Although the total cost of the project would run in crores, the initial expenditure is estimated at about Rs. 47 lakhs

The representatives of various departments of Provincial and Federal Governments suggested that a survey of the quantum of normal export and import trade may be undertaken and trading community should be motivated to use the facilities which will be provided to them through the dry port.

It was pointed out that although the city railway station Peshawar had been declared as exporting station, the same is not being utilised for export trade. The meeting was assured that the National Logistic Cell was ready to extend transportation facilities to the dry port and its transport fleet is fully capable of meeting the transport requirements.

CSO: 4200/146

# DIPLOMAT'S MISTREATMENT OF DOMESTIC REPORTED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Nov 82 p 4

[Article by Khalid Hasan]

[Text]

If you believe that slavery was abolished long ago, would it surprise you to be told that it exists in its most degrading form in the households of many Pakistani diplomats posted abroad? I wish to cite no names, either of the countries or of the people involved, but were what follows to arouse the curiosity of the authorities, I am sure they would know where to look.

Let me tell you the story of this woman I met in a Western capital recently. She was brought over with her 17-year-old son by a senior Pakistani diplomat. While generous wages were promised to her, the son was to be given employment in the Embassy. That was two years ago.

The son was given no job but told to work with his mother in the household. Their day began before sunrise and did not end until late night. There were no off days. They were paid exactly one hundred dollars a month or their equivalent. The son's air-fare from Pakistan was regularly deducted from the monthly wage. Over a period of time, 600 dollars were taken out.

In addition, they were often mistreated. If they protested, they were threatened with grave consequences. "Do you want to be handed over to the police?" Had they insisted that this be done, it would have put both the diplomat and his Mission in trouble with the host government. In that country, so the custom goes, every diplomat

who brings in a domestic servant, gives a written undertaking to the host government that he will abide by the local wage and labour laws.

But even the poor and the dispossessed reach a point where their patience runs out. That happened one day, after a particularly unpleasant dressing down the begum gave to the mother, the two walked out. They were not allowed to take the few valuables they possessed. The mother showed me a list of odds and ends she had bought over the months for a young unmarried daughter in Pakistan. Their passports were not returned to them either. They still don't have them. They were also warned to stay in line and make no trouble.

The outcasts were taken in by a kind, though poor Pakistani. He even arranged for them to see a lawyer who advised them to tell their story to the Police. They declined. When I asked why, the woman said, "that would have brought a bad name to our country." It is enough to bring tears to your eyes.

They have not gone back because they do not have the fare and they cannot return empty-handed. The woman works in a nice household now where she is treated like a human being. Weekends, she spends with her son who is employed in a restaurant. They are both illegal.

This is not a solitary but a typical case. Will the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stop running the world for a few minutes and look into its soul? Or is that advocating heresy?

CSO: 4200/144

## BRIEFS

STUDENT GROUPS CLASH--LAHORE, Nov. 21--Two processions of students were today pitched against each other in a battle of slogans for over two hours and then dispersed peacefully. A heavy police contingent was posted there but neither of the parties afforded an opportunity to it to intervene. At about 10.30 in the morning a procession of the students of the National College of the Arts came out chanting slogans against reinstatement of three rusticated students. Almost at the same time another procession appeared from the Old Campus raising slogans in favour of the decision of reinstatement. Both sections of the students however, faced each other but nothing toward happened. Meanwhile Dr. Israr Shah, Convener Students Affairs of MRD Punjab, has in a Press statement, called for pholding the decision of Students Affairs committee of NCA and revision of the decision of reinstatement. He supported the demand of students, Guild of NCA. [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 22 Nov 82 p 8]

FIRST SALAM PRIZE AWARDED--ISLAMABAD, Nov. 22--Dr. Jazma Masoud of the Centre of Excellence for Solid State Physics, Punjab University is the proud recipient of the first "salam prize" in Science (1982) this year, says a press release of the University Grants Commission. The prize, of US dollar 1,000, was instituted by Professor Salam from the proceeds of the Nobel Prize in Physics which he received in 1979 for his fundamental contributions to the theory of subnuclear particles. Instituted to encourage young Pakistani scientists, the prize as such is reserved for Pakistani's normally resident in Pakistan who are under 35 years of age. Each year the prize will be for only one of the basic sciences. Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics and Biology. A formal ceremony for the award of the Salam Prize will be held by the Centre of Basic Sciences. Dr. Masoud will present atali on the occasion explaining the work for which she has received the prise. [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Nov 82 p 8]

ULEMA TEAM MEETS ZIA--RAWALPINDI, Nov. 22--An eight-member Ulema delegation from NWFP led by Maulana Mohammad Abdul Qadir Azad met President, Ziaul Haq the CMLA's Secretariat here this afternoon. The delegation is currently on a goodwill visit to the Province of Punjab to promote inter-provincial amity. During the meeting, the Maulana appreciated efforts of the President for the introduction of Islamic Order in the country. They expressed their unflinching support to the President for his sincere efforts to promulgate Islamic laws in the country. The President appreciated their sentiments and assured them that the purpose for which Pakistan was created would be completely fulfilled. He also appreciated the role of the Ulema for bringing peace and harmony among various sections of the society. [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 23 Nov 82 p 8]

PAKISTAN-TURKEY JOINT VENTURES--WAPDA is ready to extend all possible co-operation to Turkish industrialists in any joint venture they want to establish in Pakistan for manufacturing of electrical equipments, needed by WAPDA. This statement was made by Chairman, WAPDA, Maj.-Gen. Dr. Ghulam Safdar Butt while talking to H. E. Mr. Ayhan Kamel, Turkish Ambassador in Pakistan who called on him at WAPDA House, Lahore on Saturday morning. Reciprocating the feeling expressed by the Chairman, WAPDA, the Turkish Ambassador said that Turkey was ready to provide Pakistan its own technology which was better suited for Pakistani circumstances. he said that Turkey was also ready to share whatsoever technology it had developed with its Pakistani brothers. Gen. Safdar Butt told the Turkish Ambassador that he had requested the business delegation which had visited Pakistan earlier to set up joint ventures for the manufacture of electrical items such as capacitors. He assured that all the production of such a factory which was up to the required standard would be purchased by WAPDA. [Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 21 Nov 82 p 6]

PLANNING COMMISSION MEETS--ISLAMABAD, Nov. 20--The newly re-constituted Planning Commission held its first meeting here today. The Federal Minister for Finance, Planning and Co-ordination, Mr. Ghulam Ishaq Khan, who is also Chairman of the Commission presided over the meeting. The meeting discussed the basic parameters and several key issues pertaining to the Sixth Plan. The deliberations centred around papers prepared by the staff of the Commission on the plan size, the strategy and directions. The Commission directed the staff to undertake future studies and prepare analysis papers on a number of important aspects which would help determine decisions on various dimensions of the plan. The meeting was attended by the Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission, Dr. Mahbub-ul-Haq, Secretary Planning, Secretary Economic Affairs Division and three other members including Chief Economist, Dr. Jawaaid Azfar, Mr. Manzoor Ahmad Shaikh and Mr. M. I. K. Khalil. [Lahore THE PAKISTAN TIMES in English 21 Nov 82 p 8]

CSO: 4200/146

PNG CALLS FOR NEW PACIFIC GROUPING

Sydney THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD in English 23 Oct 82 p 11

[Text]

WELLINGTON, Friday. — One of Papua New Guinea's highest-ranking public servants has called for a Pacific bloc to strengthen the region's voices.

The group should seek the declaration of the region as a nuclear weapon-free zone and oppose any move by an outside power to establish military facilities in the region.

Papua New Guinea's secretary of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Mr Paulius Matane, said the region could be thankful it was not as deeply involved as others in nuclear power-play strategy or that countries within the region were not aggressively militaristic.

"However, only a supreme optimist would predict that the Pacific will always be so lucky," he said in a speech to the Papua New Guinea-New Zealand society in Wellington.

Mr Matane, a former ambassador to Washington and permanent representative to the United Nations, said he was not suggesting that the Pacific utopia was about to be shattered.

"I am saying however, that we should not delude ourselves into thinking we will always be immune to the kinds of turmoil wrecking other areas of the world.

"In essence, I am advocating regionalism on a broad scale, a new Pacific order to strengthen the Pacific's hand in dealing with political and economic problems," Mr Matane said.

He said Australia and New Zealand particularly had been in the forefront of efforts to provide island States with technical skills and social improvement.

Their contribution, along with those of Britain, the United States and France, was well-recognised, he added.

"Nevertheless there can be no doubting that the pace of development can be quickened through a greater degree of regional co-operation on the basis of mutual respect and quality," Mr Matane said.

He hoped Pacific Islanders were graced with the vision of a better, more dynamic Pacific community.

CSO: 4200/148



## EDITORIAL PLEADS FOR PNG STABILITY

Sydney THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD in English 27 Oct 82 p 6

[Text]

THE SUGGESTION by Singapore's Prime Minister, Mr Lee Kwan Yew, at a Port Moresby luncheon that "the price of keeping up the myth of alternative government can be crippling where there is a shortage of talent" would not fall on deaf Papua New Guinean ears. The talent in short supply in developing countries is both political and administrative. Mr Lee followed up his observation by saying that, if it were Singapore, he would not hesitate as Prime Minister to co-opt into government the services of PNG's Opposition Leader, Mr Endiro, the former Defence Force commander.

Mr Lee's views certainly coincide with those of PNG's Prime Minister, Mr Somare, on a closely allied issue, the need to secure in PNG, a developing Third World country, more stable, certain government. Mr Somare has, in fact, just announced that he seeks three constitutional changes at the next sitting of the National Parliament. The least contentious of these, a return to a preferential voting system, is certain to meet the requirements for enacting constitutional change — approval by two-thirds of the members of the National Parliament at two sittings. The others are likely to strike trouble.

Mr Somare has never forgotten that in March, 1980, he was thrown out of office, and succeeded by Sir Julius Chan, over the Rooney affair in a parliamentary vote of no confidence. PNG politics remain largely incohesive and undisciplined. Politicians, once they get into the

National Parliament, tend to forget very rapidly the party or leader on whose banner they were elected. They change parties with disturbing regularity and switch promised votes without warning. In part this is to protect their ability to bestow patronage and exert power. In part it reflects the fluid, Melanesian political system in which the turnover of politicians in the House every four years is around 80 per cent — the highest of any democracy in the world. It is testimony to the individual freedom of action enjoyed by PNG politicians, but it leads to neither consistent parliamentary performance nor stable consistent government. It means that the Prime Minister has to spend far too much valuable time watching to see which way parliamentarians, even those of his own party, will jump on any particular issue. Mr Somare therefore seeks two constitutional amendments.

Under one of them the Prime Minister of the day, subject to a vote of no confidence, could advise the Governor-General to dissolve Parliament and hold national elections. The other would require any other parliamentarian switching parties or being expelled by a party to re-contest his seat in a by-election. Both measures aim at achieving more secure government. This is not an unreasonable political objective and would have the effect, if realised, of disciplining parliamentarians to look behind their own immediate situation to matters of wider national concern.

However, the first proposal overlooks the Prime Minister's constitutional obligations to Parliament. In PNG, the Prime Minister is elected by all members of the House at a special session, not by the party or coalition commanding a

majority of votes in Parliament. To this extent he cannot avoid being subject to the judgment of those who elect him. This, on contentious issues such as that of Mrs Rooney, the former Justice Minister, who was guilty of contempt of court, is likely to be severe. The second proposal will probably fail for the same reasons as the first. Quite apart from the principles involved, in an evolving Melanesian political tradition which is healthily suspicious of those with power, it is highly unlikely that parliamentarians will allow Mr Somare his head, even though most might agree that PNG's political system is badly in need of reform if government is to function efficiently in the interests of those electing it.

CSO: 4200/148

## PNG MOVES TO ENFORCE STABILITY

Sydney THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD in English 27 Oct 82 p 5

[Text]

PORT MORESBY, Tuesday. — The new Government of the Prime Minister, Mr Somare, is planning big changes to the country's constitution to enforce stability in government and Parliament.

It is expected the changes will meet with the Opposition's approval, necessary to ensure the amendments' passage through Parliament.

In part, the proposed changes will ensure that the events of March, 1980, in Parliament do not happen again. This was when a hastily mustered coalition led by the former Prime Minister, Sir Julius Chan, and the former Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Iambakkey Okuk, overthrew the then Somare Government in a no-confidence vote.

Mr Somare has announced that the Executive Council (Cabinet) has agreed to the mandatory calling of a general election in the event of future, successful no-confidence motions in a Government.

The proposed amendment to the Constitution would also allow the Prime Minister to call an election "if he so decides."

In March, 1980, Sir Julius Chan's parliamentary bloc was able to take over government without facing an election after the no-confidence motion succeeded.

Mr Somare said: "The effect of the proposed amendment will be to provide that the only means whereby a Prime Minister can be dismissed from office is by being dismissed for a Leadership Code offence ... or where the Prime Minister is removed by the Governor-General with the advice of the Speaker — on the advice of two medical practitioners that he is mentally or physically incapable of carrying out his duties."

"The amendments will ensure that wherever possible needless

votes of no confidence are not introduced into Parliament every six months — except where the persons who introduce them are prepared to endure a national election if they succeed.

"In addition, it will mean that if MPs make it difficult for the Government to get a majority to approve legislation or to approve a Budget, the Prime Minister may ... go to the people by way of a general election."

The Prime Minister said Cabinet had also endorsed amendments to the organic law on national elections to allow the introduction of the preferential voting system, in place of the existing first-past-the-post system which was unsuitable for the country, Mr Somare said.

"Many MPs were elected in June with less than half the vote of their electorate. This situation is silly."

Observers here noted that in some electorates contested by up to 15 candidates, the winner was declared with as little as 8 per cent of the votes.

The Somare Government also wants to tighten the party system by forcing a by-election on MPs who change their party allegiance in Parliament.

Mr Somare said: "It has been a fact of politics in this country for the past few years that members of political parties do not always stick with the political party which gave them support at the elections."

"This has the result that votes of no confidence are frequent and continual poaching of members by other political parties occurs."

Significantly, Mr Somare's proposed amendment on this issue is retrospective to April 15. "It will apply to persons who were elected at the last national election," he said.

"I should point out that the amendment does not stop any member of a political party from

changing his political allegiance at any time, if that member is prepared to go back to his people to have their endorsement at a by-election.

"This will ensure that the views of the people that elected an MP are seen as pre-eminent and will save the member from being tricked with promises of power and prestige into betraying the trust of those who elected him to national Parliament," Mr Somare said.

CSO: 4200/148

PHILIPPINES

LABOR WANTS PAY, ALLOWANCES INTEGRATED

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 22 Nov 82 pp 1, 6

[Text] THE TRADE Union Congress of the Philippines yesterday called for the immediate integration of all cost of living allowances into a worker's basic pay.

The TUCP said the integration of pay and allowances is more urgent now that exemptions of payment of cost of living allowances granted to some companies will expire this year.

Democrito T. Mendoza, TUCP president, said the integration will insure that companies will be paying the allowances from which they have enjoyed exemptions for the last two years at the expense of the workers

Mendoza said the Ministry of Labor and Employment should now start "turning the wheels of bureaucracy towards ensuring a full and strict enforcement of the payment of allowances to workers in exempted firms."

SEVERAL companies were given exemption from payment of PD 1389, PD 1634, PD 1678, PD 1713, PD 1614 and National Wage Council (NWC) Wage Order No 1 as a compromise for the granting of additional wage increases.

Mendoza said that any legislated pay increase or allowance becomes meaningless when not all workers for whom the pay increase is intended are getting their rightful wages.

He scored the management of some companies seeking to extend the exemption as "heartless capitalists who easily forget the lessons of history."

Mendoza said that many management men seem to be blind to the fact that one of the reasons of the depression in the 19th century was overly low wages, which meant that the domestic economy could not be stimulated by workers' purchases because they do not have money to buy the products produced by their own hands.

MENDOZA said the integration of pay would benefit the workers more than additional legislated wages, which is nothing when not all workers are benefited.

With integrated wages, he said, there will be a higher basis for estimating retirement, health vacation and sick leaves and other benefits of a worker.

A separate cost of living allowance from the basic pay is a strange system since the cost of living continues to rise even when a worker does not get his wage on his day off, he said.

CSO: 4200/149

CREDIT RATING HINGES ON IMF

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 24 Nov 82 p 23

[Text] The Philippines is banking on the approval by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) of its request for a new stand-by credit facility of \$510 million to boost her strained credit standing in the international banking community.

Philippine monetary authorities have repeatedly pointed out the country's foreign debt burden was manageable, pegged as it is on the self-imposed statutory benchmark of 20 per cent of the foreign exchange receipts for the immediately preceeding year. In fact, the debt service ratio this year, at 19.4 per cent, is still below that ceiling.

However, debt payment difficulties encountered by big Latin American borrowers like Mexico, Argentina and Brazil have heightened the concern of foreign bankers on the ability of other big Third World borrowers to service their huge foreign debts.

This concern is exacerbated by the fact that the prolonged international recession is making a heavy strain on the borrowing countries' export earnings which directly affect their debt servicing capabilities.

Philippine monetary officials expects the IMF to favorably act on the government's request for a new stand-by credit line, the fourth such facility sought to be obtained by the Philippines from the IMF since the extended fund facility in 1976.

Final negotiations between the Philippines and IMF representatives were concluded last week and Philippine authorities expect approval from the IMF board of governors by February.

Proceeds of the three-year IMF facility are intended to cover part of the country's balance of payments shortfall beginning 1983. The expected \$800 million BOP deficit this year is to be covered with new loans and partly from the reserves.

CSO: 4200/150

NET DOMESTIC CREDITS EXPAND BEYOND BENCHMARK

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 22 Nov 82 p 24

[Text] Net domestic credits expanded by 21.1 per cent, which is in excess of the 15 per cent benchmark, largely as a result of the government's "counter-cyclical" policy to sustain economic activity, Central Bank Governor Jaime Laya said in a report to President Marcos.

Laya also reported to the President that the annual rate of inflation was registered at 10.1 per cent, or only a fraction of a percentage point above the corresponding statutory benchmark of 10 per cent.

However, Laya pointed out that money supply declined by 1.5 per cent on an annual basis.

The CB governor reported that net domestic credits outstanding reached ₱135.191 billion as of the end of October this year, representing an annual expansion of 21.1 per cent.

Deposit money banks were the primary source of credit, extending 85 per cent of total credits outstanding, with the monetary authorities accounting for the balance of 15 per cent.

The bulk of 74 per cent of domestic credit expansion on an annual basis was also provided by the deposit money banks, with the CB contributing the remaining 26 per cent.

The private sector remained the main user of credit. However, with credits to the public sector expanding by 65 per cent compared to the private sector's 15 per cent during the year, the share of public credits rose from 13 to 17 per cent, while that of private credits dropped from 87 to 83 per cent of outstanding levels.

Money supply declined 1.5 per cent notwithstanding the substantial increase in domestic credits. This came about as money of external origin continued to exert a contractionary influence on money supply on account of the continued deficit in the nation's balance of payments.

Money of internal origin increased by 18.9 per cent owing mainly to the large expansion of money arising from the credit operations of the public sector.



On the other hand, the other components of liquidity--savings and time deposits as well as deposit substitutes--increased by 25.7 per cent and 3.9 per cent, respectively.

Thus, total liquidity stood at ₦89.449 billion as of the end of October, showing an increase of 13.6 per cent over the level a year ago.

Consumer prices as reported by the national census and statistics office recorded an annual increase of 10.1 per cent.

Prices of non-food items rose by 12.6 per cent while those of food, beverages and tobacco expanded by a lower 8.2 per cent.

The smaller gains in food prices during October reflected the continued enforcement of price regulations on basic food items and the various measures aimed at stabilizing supply.

The Central Bank continued to implement a wider range of policies in its attempt to mitigate the effects of difficult external conditions, ensure stability, enhance resource mobilization and promote development.

CSO: 4200/150

## LOAN CEILING SET AT TWO BILLION

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 20 Nov 82 p 24

[Text] The ceiling on foreign borrowings by the Philippines in 1983 is set to be fixed by the Central Bank at \$2.0 billion, lower than the \$2.4 billion adopted limit for the current year.

Sources at the CB disclosed that the scaled down ceiling on foreign debt for 1983 was due to the expected lower receipts in 1982 which could push the debt service ratio very close to the 20 per cent self-imposed statutory ceiling.

The ratio is based on the total foreign exchange receipts for the immediately proceeding year. In 1982, the ratio is estimated at 19.5 per cent.

However, the proposed ceiling of \$2.0 billion for 1983 is higher than what the International Monetary Fund (IMF) would allow the Philippines under the circumstances.

The Philippines is currently winding up final talks with the IMF on a \$150 million three-year stand-by credit facility which would pay for the anticipated balance-of-payments deficit this year and next year.

As part of the conditions for the new IMF facility, the Philippines has reportedly committed to restrain her budgetary expenditures in 1983 in order to reduce the fiscal deficit to a level consistent with inflation and growth targets.

About \$1.2 billion of the new debt ceiling will be in the form of official development assistance (ODA) from multilateral and bilateral sources. Some \$800 million will be in the form of commercial loans, suppliers' credits and bond issues with maturities ranging up to 12 years.

Foreign borrowings of over 12 years are not counted against the ceiling. Most of the loans from the World Bank and Asian Development Bank and the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund, from whom the Philippines obtain about \$1.5 billion annually, are for 25 years and do not fall under the ceiling.

Of the commercial loan portion of the new ceilings, some \$600 million may represent borrowings by the government entities, although more than half of

the amount would finally end up for relending to end-user-borrowers in the public and private sectors.

For the instance, the \$300 million "jumbo" loan that the CB plans to raise early in the year for the consolidated foreign borrowing program is for relending. So is the \$200 million being contemplated to be borrowed by the Development Bank of the Philippines.

Lowering of the foreign borrowing ceiling came just after the CB decided to curtail new short-term foreign exchange borrowings as well as renewals of revolving credits.

The CB noted that the percentage of foreign short-term credits has already reached the level in 1969 when it amounted to 23 per cent of total foreign debt.

CSO: 4200/150

BANKS IN FLUX AS REORGANIZATION STARTS

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 20 Nov 82 p 24

[Text] While the recent banking and interest rate reforms have resulted in a reorganization of the financial system that is still continuing, the latest country report of the World Bank on the Philippines said that it was not clear yet if the reforms have or will result in an increase in the availability of long-term capital.

In its first comprehensive study of the financial sector after the government adopted two years ago a WB-tailored restructuring of the financial system, the WB said so far the reforms have only altered the manner in which banks do business.

"Since the system is still in a state of flux, it is too early to judge the efficacy of the reforms."

However, the changes have begun to reduce the specialization that had developed in the banking system and are creating a more general type of institutions that are engaged in financing all levels and in a number of sectors in the economy.

The relaxation of deposit rate controls has likewise increased the rate of return available to consumers "to a point where banks may be competitive with money market instruments."

This WB review of the Philippine financial system constitutes one chapter in its 138-page country study on housing finance in the Philippines released only recently.

Even as the financial system continues to be unable to provide "adequate long-term finance which is a drawback on industrial development," the banking system has now increased its level of medium and long-term liabilities.

Such increase in the level of medium and long-term liabilities is significant since it would allow for a situation where "term transformation" may be increased by commercial banks with the availability of such funds.

Time and savings deposits combined now account for 82 per cent of total commercial bank deposits. From 1978 to 1980, medium and long-term funds have increased from 45 per cent to about 66 per cent of total liabilities.

Since savings deposits are "legally liquid," the WB noted the sharp increase in time deposits which have increased their share of total deposits from 19 per cent to 51 per cent during 1970-80.

For the private banking institutions, the bulk of time deposit bear maturities greater than two years. In the commercial banking system, for example, over 76 per cent of commercial bank deposits have maturities of two years and above with nearly 45 per cent carrying maturities greater than two years.

However, a steady pattern of about two-thirds of the total lending of commercial banks have been going to loans, most of which short-term.

The WB said that the disparity indicates a "disinclination of the private financial institutions in general to engage in term transformation which has been an important factor in the lack of long-term capital in the Philippines."

CSO: 4200/150

LOGGERS SUPPLYING NPA FUNDS

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 19 Nov 82 p 1

[Text] SOME BIG loggers who are naturalized Filipinos have been giving money to rebels, documents seized by the military from dissidents showed yesterday.

The information was confirmed by some New People's Army members, who surrendered recently to the government.

The documents identified at least seven multi-million-peso logging firms allegedly giving monthly "contributions" through unidentified rebel collectors.

THERE are indications that the logging firms were forced to comply with the quotas allegedly imposed by rebels because they (the firms are operating in areas where dissidents are active.

The firms were reportedly threatened that their logging facilities would be destroyed if they fail to pay.

The combined "contribution" of the firms to rebels could be about P300,000 monthly, or about P3.6 million yearly, sources said.

THEIR QUOTAS are based on the number of bulldozers, cranes, trailers and other logging equipment used by the firms, according to the documents.

Some firms who can not meet the cash requirement of the dissidents in time were allowed to give contributions in kind, such as food, clothing and medical supplies.

The trucks and bulldozers of one of the firms were reported burned by dissidents when their owners disregarded the demand by rebel leaders in the area.

Military authorities withheld information on the area of operation of the logging firms concerned.

Gen. Fabian C. Ver, AFP chief of staff, said the firms concerned are virtually giving a "shot-in-the-arm" to the dissident movement.

CSO: 4200/149

## PHILIPPINES

ECONOMY: 'SOUND AND FURY' UNMASKED

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 13-14 Nov 82 pp 1, 15

[Article by Mariano M. Florido, Former CFI Judge]

[Text] After the state visit of President Marcos to US last September he appeared in several television networks, proudly proclaiming many times that the Philippine economy is on the upswing; that the unemployment is down to only 4 per cent. A record achievement for a third world country!

What the President was actually telling the world and his American audience was: How could I come here with an entourage of 2,000 joy-riders, 300 media-men, 12 ministers and hundreds more of invited guests if my country is poor--if our economy is not in excellent shape? Anyone here would like to question me on this?

So, it was said that an "uncouth" Washington news man actually asked if it was true what the steak commandos said that THE VISIT would sack the Filipino taxpayers by at least \$20 million. And how did that make sense when Prime Minister Cesar Virata almost always commutes to Washington to borrow more and more dollars?

We say that with the President's and the First Lady's extravagance, the graft and corruption of public officials the huge foreign debts of \$16.8 billion plus P22 billion in domestic loans--and more than P14.9 billion in cash budget deficits, our ECONOMY is really an all-lose game. It cannot be other than that.

Ask any father of the family about this game I know many of them had indulge in this pastime and they know the result. And now they are bankrupt. Our government is no exception.

Our statutory debt service limit is \$2.4 billion and we have reached that limit. Which means, for amortizations and interest on our debts, we have to forge across \$2.4 billion annually. Where are we going to get that money?

Central Bank Governor Jaime Laya reported a week ago that our economy slowed down and the balance of payments deficit continues to deteriorate further.

Trade and Industry Minister Roberto Ongpin has another view of the economic spectrum. He sees infra-red and ultra-violet: Philippine economy is picking up: that 17 of the 21 industries show definite upward trend. We advise Ongpin to rehearse with Laya before joining the orchestra to produce a symphony.

Another rebuke at Ongpin: From the remarks before the Annual Convention of Free Legal Assistance Group it was reported that from 1977 to 1981 the growth rate of our economy declined from 6.9 to 3.8 per cent. But the World Bank says that the growth rate was a nominal 2.5 instead of 3.8 as the government insists. This means a drop of more than 100 per cent in the growth rate over the period.

The depth of this decline should explain the traumatic occurrence which, five years ago, were: the virtual collapse of the financial market; the bankruptcy of prominent business houses once considered economic bulwarks; the mass employment lay-offs and capital flight

Private commercial banks have been shipping out their dollar assets abroad instead of lending them to local business. Real per capita growth was virtually zero in 1981.

On the brink of bankruptcy, the government has thought of remedial measures like increasing taxes and more taxes. That is why the Batasan Pambansa approved the controversial Bill 51 increasing the rate of fees and charges in government offices, in spite of the strong opposition of the private sector.

The Philippines is getting another \$760 million from the IMF and the WB to finance the country's expected BOP deficit this year and next. In 1982 alone the BOP shortfall is estimated to be between \$600 million to \$700 million. Another loan of \$250 million is to finance structural adjustment.

According to a confidential World Bank paper, the Philippines is the No. 1 borrower of IMF funds among the third world countries, greater than such basket cases as Brazil. Greater, in fact, than any nation in the world except the United Kingdom which is also a creditor country.

Remember this: The IMF and the WB are servants of the multi-national corporations and partners of US imperialism. You ask why are the IMF and the WB continuing to grant us loans? Because these loans are not even to be paid, as long as there is free trade and free flow of money as conditions imposed by said Banks. They are bribes to strangle our economy for cheap labor for the sake of the multinationals and industrialized countries who are the stockholders of the IMF and the WB.

CSO: 4200/151



PHILIPPINES

BRIGADE OPENS ANTI-DISSIDENT DRIVE

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 21 Nov 82 p 8

[Text] CALAUAG, Quezon, Nov. 20--Brig. Gen. Cesar H. Bueno, commander of the 3rd Infantry brigade of the Philippine Army's 2nd Infantry division, arrived here the other day to launch the newly transferred unit's anti-dissident drive in the Quezon-Bicol boundary.

Beuno took over command of the Army and Constabulary battalions stationed here and in the towns of Tagkawayan and San Narciso in the Bondoc peninsula.

He informed Mayor Julio U. Lim about the presence of the brigade in the area with general headquarters at the camp occupied by the 1st platoon of the 232nd PC company along Maharlika highway in barangay Sta. Maria, this town.

Bueno said the brigade will not only campaign to win back the barangay people but also check military abuses in compliance with the order of Maj. Gen Joseph Q Ramas, Army commanding general.

Earlier, Bueno and Col. Javier D. Carbonell, brigade deputy commander, briefed Lt. Col. Tranquilino A. Aspiras, commanding officer of the 63rd PC battalion stationed in barangay Rizal, this town.

Bueno also visited Lt. Col. Ed Pangan, commanding officer of the 31st IB stationed in Tagkawayan, and Lt. Col. Salvador Calimag, commanding officer of the 42nd IB, in San Narciso in the Bondoc peninsula. (Jen Jorvina)

CSO: 4200/150

PHILIPPINES

SECURITY STRIKE FORCE FORMED

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 19 Nov 82 p 2

[Text] THE PAF has formed a commando-type security group composed of 500 men to beef up security of six major air bases of the country.

Maj. Gen. Vicente Piccio, PAF commander, said members of the commando, called PAF Combat Security Group, have completed rigid training at Fort Magsaysay in Laur, Nueva Ecija.

Piccio said the unit will be dispatched to a "combat area" this month to test its capability. He did not disclose the place

HE SAID the group is equipped with automatic firearms and assault rifles. It was also trained in heliborne maneuver

Its ground combat training was similar to that given to regular army battalions. It included basic infantry training, mountain and jungle warfare survival, and swamp and river strategic operations.

Piccio said the commando will be harnessed in disaster-relief operations and home defense missions.

CSO: 4200/149

## PHILIPPINES

### SECURITY FORCES TAKE RIOT TRAINING

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 24 Nov 82 p 5

[Text] Security forces in seven public and private installations considered vital by the military have entered the second phase of their training--riot control.

Brig. Gen. Edon T. Yap, commanding general of the Army Reserve command (Ares-com), announced this during a press conference called by Maj. Gen. Josephus Q. Ramas, Army commanding general in Fort Bonifacio.

The built-in security outfits are either of battalion or company size.

The vital installations Yap said, are the Meralco, the Philippine Long Distance Telephone company, the Philippine National Railways, the National Power Corp., the National Food Authority, the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage Service, and Food Terminal, Inc.

The built-in reserves, according to Yap, are made up of organic personnel or employees of the installations, who have commissions in the reserve force, or are graduate trainees or draftees. They receive pay from the companies they are working for.

In case of emergency, the built-in forces are automatically called to the colors and take over the security services of the installation, Yap said.

When there is no emergency requiring their automatic call to active duty, Yap explained, these built-in reserve units see to it that the installations are not sabotaged. They also see to it that no infiltrators are able to get in and that total destruction of the installation is prevented.

Yap said the members of the security forces have finished their first month of orientation training and are now starting the "riot control" phase of their training.

Next training phase Yap said, is marksmanship. Yap said they have to be taught the use of the gun to make them effective in their security missions.

CSO: 4200/150

PHILIPPINES

SAFETY OF ARRESTED CIVILIANS QUESTIONED

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 15 Nov 82 pp 1, 2

[Article by Al Alinsug]

[Text] Cagayan de Oro City Mayor Aquilino Pimentel, Jr. has expressed fears that arrested civilians in the hands of the military are not safe.

This comment was elicited from the Cagayan de Oro mayor when asked in a local radio station interview about the four students who were arrested Oct. 30 in the town of Magsaysay and later killed in an "ambush" when these four young people were brought to Gingoog City.

The four arrested youngsters between ages 16 and 18 were all killed before reaching Gingoog city, Pimentel revealed.

Pimentel said he has written the military authorities asking that the incident be thoroughly investigated.

"We are awaiting the results of the formal investigation and the truth must be told," Pimentel said. "Other wise," he hastened to add, this and similar cases are the very ones that lead people to be radicalized."

Meanwhile it was also reported that the officer in charge of the arrested youngsters, a certain lieutenant, has been held in police-military as a result of the incident.

CSO: 4200/151

## PHILIPPINES

### MILITARY WATCHLIST REPORTED

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 17 Nov 82 pp 1, 16

[Article by Al Alinsug]

[Text] An opposition PDP leader has denounced the listing by the military of some 102 citizens in Cebu in what is known as 'watchlist' which the military is alleged to have kept for arrest and detention purposes "when it becomes necessary or when the time comes."

Ribomapil Holganza, secretary-general of PDP-Laban, has bandied around a xerox copy containing a list of names suspected to be linked with the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) and the National Democratic Front (NDF).

In the list are teachers and professors, nuns and priests, lawyers and professionals, students, labor sympathizers, politicians and mediamen.

Three leaders of the opposition PDP-Laban including Holganza, are in the list.

Seven mediamen are mentioned.

A reporter, Leo Fabular, said he knows 31 of them and he copied the 31 names.

Among the mediamen is Danny Gonzales who writes a regular column in the Visayan Herald.

Holganza expressed anger over the supposed list of "subversives" and he branded this as another attempt by the Marcos regime to terrorize the civilians.

The opposition leader pointed to Eduard Vargas as in the list but who has already been arrested and detained. In the case of Vargas, a habeas corpus petition has been filed in the Supreme Court which ordered the production of Vargas' body before the Tribunal.

Holganza said there is use for this list. He warned that should anyone in the list "get lost" at least we know whom to ask.

The list was earlier referred to former Cong. Tony Cuenco who heads the PDP-Laban in Central Visayas and he was said to have worried why he is not in the list.

When Holganza was asked who furnished him the list, he declined to reveal his source, saying it comes from his "intelligence."

Gen. Alfredo Olano, Recon 7 Commander, denied any knowledge of a watchlist being kept by the military when asked to comment on it in an early morning interview over a radio station.

"We don't keep any such list," he was quoted to have said.

Holganza was yesterday special guest of the Cebu Tri Media Association (CTMA) in a meeting at Great Han Palace. The meeting was also attended by a visiting journalist, Henrik Docker, who belongs to the Danish News Agency.

CSO: 4200/151

MARCOS EXPEDITES STEEL MILL PROJECT

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 21 Nov 82 pp 1, 6

[Text] PRESIDENT MARCOS directed yesterday the immediate implementation of the "700-million integrated steel mill, one of the major industrial projects the government is undertaking.

To speed up the construction of the steel mill, the President issued:

--Letter of Instructions No. 1277 directing the Investment Coordinating Committee of the National Economic and Development Authority to accelerate the implementation of the project and the Central Bank to include financing of the project in its 1982-83 foreign credit budget

--Proclamation No 2239 setting aside 302.5 hectares of public land in Iligan City and the foreshore area adjacent to it for the immediate use and occupation of the National Steel Corp. which is building the steel mill.

Under the LOI, the Board of Investments has been directed to consider the project a pioneer industry under Presidential Decree No 1789

The National Power Corp. will supply the mill with its power needs through 1990 and make other provisions according to its previously approved power development program

THE STEEL MILL is an expansion of the existing facilities of the defunct Iligan Integrated Steel Mill Inc. (IISMI) and will have iron making, steel-making and rolling mills facilities.

In justifying the project, the President said the mill would be capable of producing steel at \$160 per ton compared to \$260 per ton for imported steel, using as raw material local iron ore which is still being exported.

The mill will be self-liquidating even by supplying only the domestic requirements with steel at \$160 per ton, he pointed out.

ASIDE FROM the integrated steel mill, the other five projects now under construction are the copper smelter, cement industry expansion, diesel engines manufacture, heavy engineering industries, and the fertilizer plant.

The other five projects, aluminum smelter, petrochemical complex, integrated pulp and paper plant, alcogas and coconut industry rationalization are all moving in various phases of development.

IN LOI NO. 1277, the President directed NSC to secure, through negotiations or expropriation, certain portions of public land in Iligan City now occupied by the idle fertilizer plant and related facilities of the Maria Cristina Fertilizer Corp. (MCFC).

He directed the NSC to pay the MCFC for its rights on the land at P30 per square meter, or the assessed value, whichever is higher.

The NSC will also give the MCFC the option to remove its fertilizer plant, including all equipment and machineries, or sell or cede ownership over them to NSC.

A fair market value for all these properties will be determined by the Asian Appraisal, Inc. or as may be mutually agreed upon by NSC and Maria Cristina.

An agreement must be reached within 60 days, after which time the Iron and Steel Authority (ISA) will expropriate the property under Presidential Decree No. 272.

THE PRESIDENT also directed the minister of public works and highways to assist the NSC in building a diversionary road to substitute for a portion of the existing national highway which will be closed with the construction of the integrated steel mill.

The ministry will reimburse the NSC of P16 million which the NSC will spend for the road from the amount to be made available by the Ministry of the Budget, the President said.

CSO: 4200/149



GOVERNMENT ASSURING COCO-OIL MILLERS

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 24 Nov 82 p 24

[Text] Coconut oil millers who have been prohibited from selling abroad have nothing to be afraid of because the government has committed to buy at higher-than-export prices all the coconut oil that will not be absorbed by domestic private buyers.

This was the opinion of sources in the coconut industry in the wake of increasing anxiety among about 47 oil milling companies whose export permits were temporarily lifted by the Philippine Coconut Authority in September.

The sources emphasized, however, that the question will soon become academic as there is a strong possibility the PCA might change its mind. Instead, the sources said, the 47 millers will merely be required to fill a domestic requirements quota first. Then they may export.

The PCA is expected to spell out the mechanics of the new arrangements "in a few days," the sources said.

The government will be buying coconut oil chiefly to supply its ongoing coco-diesel program, wherein coconut oil is blended with diesel. The program is intended to veer away from imported petroleum and tap indigenous energy sources. Also, under the coco-diesel program, millers are assured of a steady, long-term buyer.

The export ban was imposed on the 47 companies because they each failed to export a minimum of 40,000 metric tons annually in the past two years and also because they were operating under capacity.

Industry sources, on the other hand, indicated that even if the PCA would not reverse itself on the ban, the industry would benefit in the long term.

CSO: 4200/151

ROMANIA OFFERS TO BUY COCO OIL

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 25 Nov 82 p 21

[Text] The Romanian government has sought the assistance of the Philippines for the procurement of coconut oil and fats under a counter-trade arrangement reached between the two countries.

The Romanian request was contained in an urgent note addressed to Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry Vicente B. Valdepenas.

Dr. Julian Dumitru, head of the economic section of the Philippine-Romanian government joint commission on economic and technical cooperation and trade, cited the provisions concerning the counter-trade arrangement included in the protocol of the joint commission's fourth session which sought to implement the accord reached between the two governments.

The protocol stipulates that payments for Philippine export products are to be made in Romanian goods like machinery chemicals and other products of import interest to the Philippines.

The Romanian request for oils and fats were intended for soap manufacturing.

The Romanian official said his government is seeking assistance in obtaining the quantities, prices and the terms for the delivery of the said Philippine products.

Romania is one of the socialist countries which the Philippines has entered into a counter-trade arrangement. The government has been tapping non-traditional markets for its export products, notably coconut, garments and other agricultural crops.

CSO: 4200/151

LAUREL PRESSES UNIDO PROPOSAL

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 24 Nov 82 p 36

[Text] DUMAGUETE CITY, Nov. 23--Former Senator Salvador H. Laurel, president of the United Nationalist Democratic Organization, urged President Marcos yesterday to agree to the creation of a "Preparatory Commission for National Reconciliation and Unification." Laurel said the body would steer back the country to constitutional democracy and prevent what he called the further radicalization of the people.

Laurel spoke at an executive committee meeting of local UNIDO, Nacionalista and other opposition leaders of Negros Oriental headed by former Rep. Herminio Teves, younger brother of Gov. Lorenzo Teves; and NP Provincial Chairman Agustin Perdices.

Laurel and his party followed up their sortie of this vote-rich province with speeches at a symposium at the Siliman University and a huge rally in Tanjay which drew thousands of people in sugarlandia and adjoining provinces.

UNIDO's national leaders, including former Senator Eva Estrada Kalaw, UNIDO executive vice-president, UNIDO National Vice President Antonio Gatmaitan, former senator Rene Espina, Assemblyman Valentino Legaspi, Misamis Oriental Gov. Homobono Adaza, Batangas Gov. Jose C. Laurel V, and Mel Lopez, UNIDO treasurer, joined Laurel in the Negros Oriental barnstorming tour.

CSO: 4200/151

CRIME PROBLEMS IN SOUTH RISE

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 23 Nov 82 p 3

[Text] ZAMBOANGA CITY--A study has attributed the rising juvenile delinquency in western Mindanao to poverty, large size of families and environmental factors.

The study, conducted by the Ministry of Social Services and Development, found that majority of youthful offenders come from poverty-stricken families with children ranging from eight to 14.

The area constitutes the Muslim autonomous region and is made up of the provinces of Basilan, Sulu, Tawi-Tawi, Zamboanga del Norte and Zamboanga del Sur.

POPULATION as counted by the National Census and Statistics office in the 1981 national census was 2,446,558 dividing into 1,237,957 males and 1,208,601 females.

The MSSD study was based on the responses made by wards of the Silungan Center here, a rehabilitational and correctional halfway-house for youthful offenders throughout the region, and socio-economic surveys previously undertaken in the five provinces.

Juvenile offenses ranged from arson, robbery or burglary, homicide, theft, vagrancy and vandalism, reported Zenaida L. Arevalo, head of the Zamboanga MSSD field office.

MOST of the children, especially the boys, were forced to fend off for themselves because of inability of parents to support them, she said. The father earned a living either as plain laborers, landless farmers or drivers whose incomes were minimal or not enough to support their families.

Some of the wards came from families whose fathers were either deceased or had abandoned their families.

MSSD conducted the study in the wake of growing incidence of juvenile delinquency in the region. It found that children committed crimes because of their need for food and other bare necessities of life.

MOST of the wards resided in the congested and economically-depressed areas of the region whose overall crime incidence was high.

The three most overcrowded districts here are Canelar, Sta. Barbara and Sta. Catalina. Their incidence of juvenile delinquency is the highest compared with other urban areas in the region.

The study likewise found that majority of the wards at the center had finished two to three years formal schooling. Poverty of their families compelled them to drop out of school.

TO HELP bring down the region's escalating juvenile delinquency incidence, Arevalo said the MSSD field office has launched a campaign in cooperation with concerned school authorities, civic and religious organizations.

CSO: 4200/149

SAD STATE OF SCHOOLS BARED

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 23 Nov 82 p 7

[Article by Yvonne T. Chua]

[Text] THE LOCATION, condition, and physical facilities of the country's 30,451 public elementary schools are far from being ideal, a study of the education ministry's Office of Planning Service tends to show.

The study, which took into account 2,640 public elementary schools, showed that only four of every 10 schools are in good condition. The rest are dilapidated and badly in need of repairs, incomplete by standard plans, or outright "condemnable" and must be replaced.

THE SCHOOLS, most of which have Marcos and Bagong Lipunan-type buildings, are also "found wanting in facilities."

Only a little over half have water facilities and only 30 of every 100 schools have electric service, the study said.

Ninety-two of every 100 pupils walk to school, the study said, and it would be most ideal for them to traverse that distance in 10 minutes. But pupils are forced to walk at average of 22.51 minutes to get to their schools.

THE STUDY, which also cited one-and-a-half as the ideal number of barangays a school should serve, found that majority of the public elementary schools cater to residents of three barangays.

Half of the schoolbuildings surveyed are permanent structures and constructed according to government-set standards. But the other half are either substandard or have been modified, or semi-permanent or temporary structures.

The study found that schools usually have three buildings used for academic purposes and one non-academic building used for home economics and industrial art courses, or as a library, storeroom, or administration building.

The non-academic buildings fare worse than the academic buildings because most are dilapidated, substandard, and semi-permanent structures.

URBAN CHILD NUTRITION IMPROVING

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 23 Nov 82 p 7

[Text] SERIOUS or third-degree malnutrition cases among Manila's pre-school age children have been decreasing in the past five years, according to the city health department.

The department claims an incidence of only 1.3 percent as of last September. Highest incidence was in 1979 with a rate of 3.3 percent.

The latest percentage was determined during the monthly weigh-in conducted by public health centers in all of the city's wards or "barangays."

The weigh-in or "Operation Timbang" found an overall undernutrition incidence of 56.2 percent which the department breaks down as follows:

First-degree or mild malnutrition, 43.3 percent; second-degree or moderate, 11.6 percent, and serious or third-degree, 1.3 percent.

About 38.5 percent were found to be enjoying adequate nutrition while 5.3 percent were overweight.

THE DEPARTMENT calls attention to the fact that serious children malnutrition cases in the city have been progressively declining since 1978 when the incidence was recorded at 1.5 percent.

Third-degree cases were highest in 1979 with a rate of 3.3 percent. This went down to 2.3 percent the following year, became 1.89 percent in 1981 and further dropped to 1.3 percent last September, according to the department.

Overall malnutrition rates during 1978-1982 have also been going down. City Health statistics placed the percentage at 66.5 percent in 1978. This went up to 68.45 percent the following year and progressively dropped to 57.7, 57.39 and 56.2 percent in the last three years.

THE DEPARTMENT attributes this positive development of the stepped-up nutrition campaign being waged by City Hall.

The city's campaign is three-pronged: direct feeding, distribution of subsidized food supplements and barangay-level monitoring of malnutrition cases.

Feeding centers are set up in barangays determined to have 40 to 50 children suffering from various degrees of undernutrition. The centers prepare daily lunches or snacks for the children. Each child is allotted a meal costing P1.50.

The meals or snacks are prepared by a designated health worker under employ of the city. The children are weighed every month.

Supplementing task of the center is distribution of food supplements to mothers of children found afflicted by second and third degree malnutrition. The food usually consists of nutrition-reinforced noodles and biscuits.

Staff of city health centers conduct seminars to teach the mothers how to correctly prepare the food for their malnourished children who are also subjected to weighing every 20 to 40 days.

THE CITY'S child malnutrition problem is being monitored by a network of barangay "nutrition scholars." So far, 54 of them have undergone a training course prepared by the health department.

The nutrition scholars conduct house-to-house surveys to determine cases of malnourished children, assist in other health services of the center, disseminate nutrition information in their respective neighborhoods, and conduct demonstration on how to prepare low-cost but nutritious meals.

The nutrition scholar network is a joint project of the city health department and the National Nutrition Council. It is designed as a vehicle to carry the national government's current anti-malnutrition campaign to the grassroots level.

CSO: 4200/149



PHILIPPINES

LOCAL LEADER LEADS POLITICAL RALLY

Cebu City VISAYAN HERALD in English 13-14 Nov 82 pp 1, 12

[Article by Eleodoro Mongaya]

[Text] ZAMBOANGA CITY--Four leading opposition leaders will speak in what is billed as the biggest information rally at the Sunken Garden this city on December 4, 1982.

Mayor Cesar Climaco made this announcement even as he asked the assistance of Southcom chief Major General Delfin Castro, for the safety of the crowd.

Mayor Climaco in an exclusive interview with Visayan Herald in his city hall office said "our biggest worry is the safety of the audience and the speakers."

The information rally will start at 2 o'clock until sundown, the opposition mayor said.

Lined up as principal speakers are Ass. Salvador Laurel, former Senators Jose Diokno, Eva Kalaw and Rene Espina and other opposition leaders in the Visayas and Mindanao regions.

He said the information rally is not an election rally but to inform the people of the state of the nation today.

Just like the rallies in Bacolod and Tacloban City sponsored by the United Nationalist Democratic Organization (UNIDO). Climaco said the Concerned Citizens Aggrupas- [as printed]

CSO: 4200/151

GOVERNMENT STEPS UP PALAY PURCHASES

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 22 Nov 82 p 36

[Text] Massive palay buying by government is now underway nationwide, the National Food Authority (NFA) said yesterday.

The NFA said that the procurement operations are part of strategies to intensify and speed up palay buying from rice farmers as mapped out by top NFA officials and regional directors in a meeting last weekend.

Food Minister Jesus Tanchanco said that funds are being released to regional and provincial offices to buy palay from farmers at the support price of ₱1.70 per kilo.

Funds came from the ₱500 million ordered released by President Marcos last week for palay procurement this harvest season, he said.

With the procurement funds palay prices are expected to perk up this week to benefit rice farmers, he said.

The NFA's buying operations will also force unscrupulous rice traders and millers to stop buying palay from farmers at exploitative prices, he said.

The traders and millers promised to buy palay at government support price level in a dialogue with Tanchanco and Agriculture Minister Arturo Tanco last week.

The government-private sector dialogue was called in the wake of reports that unscrupulous traders were buying palay for as low as ₱.90 per kilo, way below the support price of ₱1.70 per kilo.

Tanchanco said that palay stocks bought from farmers will be kept safely in government warehouses strategically located in various parts of the country.

He said field men have been instructed to insure that palay stocks are well-stored to prevent spoilage.

Tanchanco directed regional directors and NFA field men to buy palay only from farmers entitled to the government support price and not from impostors.

DETAINEES' RELEASE SOUGHT

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 21 Nov 82 p 40 .

[Text] Twenty-two political detainees in Camp Bagong Diwa, Bicutan, asked President Marcos yesterday to release 69 detainees now held in three military camps in Metro Manila and to end the solitary confinement of three others.

In a letter to the President, the Bicutan detainees invoked the government's normalization program and noted the joint move of the Ministries of Justice and Defense to insure due process in the investigation, arrest, detention and prosecution of persons accused of crimes against national security.

Claiming they had not been afforded due process, the detainees asked for a reivev of their cases so that "those against whom no credible evidence can be presented be released forthwith and dropped from the charges, and the others be afforded the right to bail."

But because bail is not available to them by virtue of the issuance of either an ASSO or a PCO, the detainees asked President Marcos to grant them temporary release.

The detainees categorized the 69 detainees they ask to be freed as follows:

1. Two (Modesto Pasana and Pepito Serrano) who have been ordered freed by the Quezon City CFI for having served out their six-month prison sentences (they have been detained for over two years).
2. Two (Rene Marciano and Baltazar Pinguel) who were recommended for release last March by Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile.
3. Four factory workers (Rodolfo Benosa, Nestor Bodino, Alfredo Mansos and Edwin Tulalian) arrested last February, and four labor organizers detained with them in Bicutan (Danilo de la Fuente, Alex Marcelino, Benjamin Sesgundo and Charlie Palma).
4. Five accused of subverions as "ordinary members" liable for 6-month imprisonment but detained for eight months now (Rogelio Aberca, Manuel D. Guzman, Joseph Olayer, Marco Palo and Rolando Salutin).

5. Three long-held detainees (Fidel Agcaoili, Satur Ocampo and Sixto Carlos, Jr.).
6. Four arrested last February without warrants (Edwin Lopez, Noel Etabag, Alan Jazmines and Arturo Tabara).
7. Thirty-five workers and trade unionists arrested last August-September now held in Camp Crame (including Felixberto Olalia Sr., Crispin Beltran, Merdardo Roda, Bonifacio Tupaz and Ronaldo Cantes).
8. Four women detainees in Camp Crame (Doris Baffrey, Belen Flores, Violeta Marasigan, and Jocelyn de Guzman) and two in Camp Bago-Bantay (Lucia Alita-Pagador and Linda Ferrer-Valmonte).
9. Four suspected leaders and members of the Natinal Democratic Front (NDF) held in Camp Bago-Bantay (Horacio Morales Jr., Fr. Ed de la Torre, Antonio Moncupa Jr. and Christopher Sorio).

CSO: 4200/150

PHILIPPINES

MISUARI DENIED SUPPORT

Manila BULLETIN TODAY in English 21 Nov 82 p 40

[Text] Filipino Muslims who recently arrived from a pilgrimage to Mecca reportedly refused to shell out even a dollar from their pockets when asked for contribution by Nur Misuari, self-exiled leader of the Moro National Liberation Front.

This was disclosed Tuesday by Maj. Gen. Delfin Castro, commanding general of the Southern Command (Southcom) in a chance interview with Manila newsmen who accompanied Gen. Fabian C. Ver, Armed Forces chief of staff to Jolo, Sulu.

Castro joined Ver's trip to Jolo and was interviewed at the Air Force' airport in Zamboanga city on the return trip, by the media representatives.

The Southcom commander said the report on Misuari's alleged asking for contribution "for the Muslim cause" from pilgrims was reported to him by the Filipino Muslim pilgrims upon their return from Mecca.

According to Castro, several years back, the pilgrims used to look for Misuari and chipped in part of their money to Misuari for the "Muslim cause" in the Philippines.

However, Castro said that based on what the returning pilgrims told him, it was now Misuari looking for them and asking for whatever amount they could afford to support the Muslim cause.

CSO: 4200/150

ROAD BUILDING PROGRAM IN FULL SWING

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 25 Nov 82 p 3

[Text] ILOILO CITY, Nov. 22--A massive road-building activity is in full-swing in the provinces of Iloilo, Capiz and Negros Occidental. Completion next year of the program will bring about socio-economic development to the people.

Deputy Works and Highways Minister Aber P. Canlas, who inspected the 10 on-going road projects in Region VI over the weekend, said it was the biggest infrastructure program launched by the government in the Vasayas, amounting to some P385-million.

Local officials in the region who met with Canlas had expressed their appreciation to President Marcos for his concern in giving development to the region.

Immediate marketing of farm and sea products will be attained with the completion of new highways coupled with farm-to-market asphalt roads, they said.

THE ROAD network consisted of 289 kilometers of concrete and asphalt pavements, depending on the road traffic.

Roads used by all types of vehicles are to be made of concrete while those of lesser traffic will be asphalted, Canlas said.

The project is financed by a loan from the World Bank with the government chipping in 45 percent of the total outlay.

CSO: 4200/150

PER CAPITA FISH INTAKE BELOW SET NORM

Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 24 Nov 82 p 12

[Article by Feliciano Magno]

[Text] MANILA--Fish remains the primary source of protein in the national diet but annual per capita intake of the food item continues to be below the prescribed level.

Latest measuring conducted by the National Food Authority (NFA) shows the per capita consumption as very much less than the set 32.5 kilograms a year.

NFA reports that while the 1980 catch of 1,672,000 metric tons was 5.7 percent above the previous year's production, it was still 58,000 metric tons short of the projected effective domestic demand.

The prescribed per capita consumption divides into 25.2 kgs. of fresh fish and 7.3 kgs. of crustaceans and mollusks.

The NFA findings complement earlier ones made by the Asian Development Bank and the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, two multilateral agencies actively assisting the Philippine government improve production of its fisheries sector.

The food agency cites two reasons for the fish intake deficiency of majority of Filipinos: Low incomes and inadequate fish production.

Government is tackling the first problem by setting up special retail outlets which sell food commodities at prices below those obtaining in the open market, reports NFA. The outlets or "Kadiwa retail stores" are in a chain set up by the Food Terminal Inc., one of FFA's arms. The stores, some which are mounted on trucks, concentrate on the economically depressed areas.

The outlets implement one of the main functions of NFA: Set up an efficient nationwide food distribution system and ensure that food prices and those of other essential commodities remain stable or within reach of those with low income.

Gains are also being achieved to make fish production adequately fill domestic demand, claims NFA. Statistics from the Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources show an average 5 percent annual increase in fish catch during the 1975-80 period.

The bureau projects that the current shortfall in output will be covered before end of this decade.

For the present, however, NFA acknowledges that the country must resort to imports to cover the gap between supply and demand. Imports in 1979 amounted to 45,878 metric tons.

Analyzing the nation's imports of fish and by-products, NFA says half is in canned food fish, mostly supplied by Japan, while the other half in fishmeal.

The small or sustenance fishermen continue to be the main suppliers of the nation's food fish. NFA places their contribution to the total national catch at 60 percent.

Because of such contribution, the government is now concentrating on the small fishermen to help them increase their production, explains NFA. Government assistance comes in liberal production loans and extension of technical services.

(In a recent study, FAO found this small fishermen in the Philippines, and elsewhere in the Southeast Asian region, are among the "poorest of the poor" with government assistance to improve their plight needing some boost to achieve the desired effect.)

The rest of the country's fish production is supplied by the commercial or deepsea fishing sector and fishponds whose respective contributions are 32 and 8 percent, according to NFA.

CSO: 4200/150



NATURE OF RADICAL CHRISTIANITY EXAMINED

Manila BULLETIN TODAY-PANORAMA in English 21 Nov 82 pp 5-9

[Text] THE BASIC CHRISTIAN Communities (BCCs) have become the most potent political force of the Church in the Philippines today."

This was the gist of a confidential government report written by a ranking official of the Armed Forces of the Philippines sometime in the late seventies. The report strongly recommended to the government a closer monitoring of the BCCs as well as the need to improve relations with the institutional Church to neutralize the progressive elements within the Church.

The report gave the first indication of how the government felt about the BCCs, a Church program that in the Philippines was started in Mindanao in the late sixties by Maryknoll missionaries. The impetus for the BCCs was provided by the Second Vatican Council and the Conference of Latin American Bishops in Medellin, Colombia in 1968. Essentially, it was spurred by the realization that the Church is the people of God, and that the faithful should share in the responsibility for and participate in the Church's functions and its mission of proclaiming the good news. In Latin America, in particular, the Church was faced with the lack of priests, on one hand, and the need to minister to the pastoral needs of millions of Catholics, on the other. Missionaries across the continent, taking the initiative to come up with new approaches, found the answer in basic ecclesial communities.

In the Philippines, experiments with BCCs were started in the prelature of Tagum, Davao del Norte by the Maryknoll fathers. Those first grass-roots communities were called Gagmay'ng Kristohanong Katilingban (GKK). Subsequently, missionaries from nearby dioceses (Butuan, Kidapawan, Cotabato), learning from the Tagum experience, adapted the program to their own milieu. Elsewhere, in Bukidnon, Iligan, Cagayan de Oro, Ozamis and Basilan, various efforts were made to set up the structures and train lay leaders for the BCCs.

Lay leaders are a key element of the BCCs for it is they, in the absence of priests, who assume an active role in the communities, primarily by bringing the people together to celebrate the Word of God. These leaders undergo seminars on Vatican II documents, the Bible, the living traditions of the Church, liturgy and the like. A support mechanism is provided by volunteer catechists and youth programs. When the lay leaders have been sufficiently trained, they

can by themselves organize and prepare for fiesta celebrations, novenas, rosaries and other religious activities with the meaningful participation of the faithful.

By its very nature--the organization of people, the mobilization of human resources, their awakening to their rights and their potential and above all, their realization of their basic human dignity--the BCC from its inception has been a prime target of government suspicion. All over the country there has been harassment of the BCCs. In some communities the people have been warned not to gather together; in others the lay leaders have been prohibited from discussing anything political. On a number of occasions, lay leaders and catechists of the BCCs have been arrested and put in prison. In August 1979 in Davao City two lay leaders were "salvaged."

#### 1. A Priest and a Nun

IN SAMAR, says a nun who is deeply involved in BCC work and is now on the run precisely because of that involvement, "it came as a surprise to the people that it is not God's will that they are poor."

"And for the government that is already revolutionary because the people start thinking, why are we like this. They had been conditioned to think that it's right that they get only 25 per cent of the harvest while the landowners, who only wait for the delivery, get the bulk. Then all of a sudden you tell the people they should get more."

The nun, almost 25 years a religious, had until 1970 been in Manila doing administrative work at a college run by her order. But feeling too enclosed in the city, she decided to apply as a rural missionary, to go to the people instead of waiting for them to come to her. "Anong klaseng missionary ang naka-upo?" she asks wide-eyed. When she first came to Northern Samar to build up BCCs together with another nun, the people would tell her, "Sister, what you are teaching us, about the dignity of man, is what we are hearing from the NPA." She would say, "Do they teach you about God?" "Ay no," the people would reply, shaking their heads vigorously.

Samar is among the country's most blessed provinces in terms of natural resources. It is also, however, among the most economically depressed of provinces. The logs in which the province is so rich benefits transnational companies. The nun says logs go straight down the river and into foreign-owned ships. Yet the people's homes are dilapidated, so miserable it makes them ashamed to welcome nuns or priests into their huts. In an area teeming with logs that should set the people economically free, the poor have no decent furniture. Four years ago, the province was struck by a devastating flood, but it was not rain that destroyed the homes, but the logs that, swept away by the current, rammed straight into the little huts. The people, says a priest who was there, were compensated with a ganta of rice and two cans of salmon.

In 1976, the Samar dioceses of Borongan, Calbayog and Catarman and Palo in northern Leyte got a consultative body together to coordinate programs they had in common, among them the BCCs. In those areas where they have been

introduced and accepted by the people, the BCCs have changed lives--and attitudes--drastically. For 400 years, the nun says, the Filipinos had been told by their faith that whatever happens to them is God's will for them. Now the priests and nuns are teaching them that God does not want them to remain poor, that they are poor because they are being exploited.

"If you read the Bible without bias," says the nun, "you will see that Christ's bias was for the poor. In a sense, with the BCC we are really subverting an order. We are teaching the poor, for instance, to help themselves even medically, through a self-help barrio medical program that means reduced income for professional medical men."

Everywhere priests and nuns went in the course of setting up BCCs, the people would not only talk about their poverty, they would also complain about the militarization of their areas. Until she fled Samar, the nun had been assigned a fairly new job: that of overseeing the justice and peace desk for the three Samar provinces and Leyte at the Social Action Center in Catbalogan. "We would receive letters every month from the barrios," she says. "We do not actually go out to the barrios looking for abuses. The letters, the people, came to our office. They would write down the details, make a list of what were confiscated from them. And they would sign the letters. Those who could not would put their thumbmark on their affidavits. That was a very great risk for them. They had to be at their breaking point to do that because the military could always go to their barrios and fire at them. We had a bundle of these documents but they were confiscated by the military during the raid on September 1." (A nun and two lay workers were arrested in that raid and detained.)

It's the priest's turn to talk now. Only 28 and three years a priest, he speaks in a torrent of words, his Visayan-accented English betraying the Samareno in him. "Our work," he says, "is mandated by Vatican II, gospel as life itself, man in his totality. They said dignity of man, it cannot be dignity in this part only, or that part. We have to address ourselves to the whole situation in which man is oppressed. And they call that a political act."

As a seminarian, the priest had to undergo rigid training in rural work in Samar under a program that stipulated no one was worthy of the priesthood unless he exposed himself to the poverty of barrio life. That was a baptism of fire for the young would-be priest as he witnessed terrible realities of militarization. During a fiesta in one town, he recalls, the military issued a list of supposedly "wanted" people. Some of those on the list would pay off and their names cleared, those who did not were tortured. Their sex organs would be tied with cloth soaked in kerosene and the cloth set on fire. Or they would be hung upside down. Or their wives would be raped. "We had affidavits," the priest says, but when he and his fellow seminaristas went off to Manila for a 30-day retreat, the military informed the people that the young men had gone off to the hills to join the NPA.

"They themselves are too scared to go into NPA territory," says the nun. "If you could go and come back unharmed, they concluded you were NPA." Her first assignment in the parish where she was to build BCCs was to visit all the

barrios. She and her nun companion found one barrio had been evacuated; it had been the scene of a military operation. In another barrio, she says, the soldiers had carried away all the GI sheets; in another, they had cut down all the banana trees; in still another, they had collected their feces and wrapped these in bags which they dumped inside the houses.

In Northern Samar, the priest says, the people had been terrorized by two months of military operations. The head of one dead man was displayed in the poblacion, 35 ears attached to it. Dead people were brought to the centers tied to a pole and then dumped into a pit. Townsfolk who had survived the Japanese occupation said they had never seen anything so barbaric and worse, the atrocities were being committed against one's own people. "Following instructions," says the priest, "we reported the abuses to the authorities. We brought them the documents, but to our dismay they were dumped into the waste basket. Then we would furnish the commanding officers with copies of the documents and they would blame us."

In December 1979, after a priest, Fr. Restituto Cardenas, was detained by the military, Bishop Angel Hobayan declared a ban on all Masses during the entire Christmas season. The ban was lifted only when Father Cardenas was released on January 12. The unity displayed by the Church irked the military, says the priest, and they retaliated by branding the bishop a subversive. The bishop denied the accusation, but the denial never saw print. The military ploy, says the priest, is to pit the bishops against their priests, to make it appear that the Church is divided. Denials from the churchmen, he says, never get the same prominent treatment in the media as the government charges and insinuations against them.

"Ang initial reaction mo talaga," says the nun, "nakakagalit. Ano ba naman, mas mabuti pa ang mga aso, inaalagaan nila dahil they are going to kill it and then eat it afterwards. Ang tao, bale wala. Ipinagmamalaki pa nila."

Then she and the priest proceed to narrate a litany of cases, which comprise only a tiny fraction of the day-to-day occurrences in Samar:

Of how, on June 25 this year, Narciso Alegria came to Bagacay to fetch his daughter who worked as a helper for one of the families there. Father and daughter took a jeepney home. When the jeepney reached a barangay checkpoint, soldiers ordered the driver to stop and told Alegria to get off. He was questioned and accused of being involved in an ambush a few days before in another barangay. Without provocation and in front of his bewildered daughter, the man was shot dead.

Of how in one barrio in Taft, Loreta Pabua was killed allegedly by a member of the Army's 14th IB. A soldier had taken a fancy to her daughter but Loreta did not approve of him as a suitor. One evening some soldiers came, found Loreta alone in her house praying the rosary. They took her to the schoolhouse and there raped her, then killed her. They then dragged the body towards the national highway. At this point a cargo truck passed by and saw the soldiers with the dead body. The soldiers threw a hand grenade at the truck, killing three people. The driver of the truck lived to tell the story.

Of how the manager of a logging company asked the military for a detachment as protection against the NPA. Then complaints of abuses committed by the soldiers themselves started coming in. When the manager confronted the commanding officer about the complaints, the latter had one of four men he had detained brought to him. The CO then cut off one of the man's ears, roasted it and in the man's presence, ate it. The manager, suddenly conscientized, when on the air to denounce the military. He also resigned his job.

"We have," says the priest, "a picture of soldiers stepping on the severed head of a dead man, and they are looking victorious and wearing rosary beads around their necks."

"Among our documented papers," adds the nun, "is a picture of soldiers near the entrance to a barrio--near a welcome sign--and they are holding up a head and grinning broadly. It is barbaric. Ganyan daw ang training nila. We had one report from Eastern Samar of an ordinary military operation, nagpapatrol, they could not get anybody, so they had nothing to report. On the way home they met someone who was also walking home. For no reason at all, the man was tied up, tortured, and while still alive, thrown into the river. One of the soldiers was telling the others, sobra na iyan, tama na iyan. He went to the camp ahead of his colleagues. When the others came, pinagtulungan siya, bakla daw siya. In Catubig last year, there was an ex-seminarian, a trainee among the soldiers. The next year he dropped out. Sobra na raw ang ginagawa nila."

The priest says, "One of them told me, you have to commit these abuses so that you will be transferred. They're also afraid of staying there."

Yet it's not fear that motivates most of the time. "We were in Catubig in northern Samar," says the nun, "where this notorious battalion had headquarters in the local agricultural school. One of the teachers was telling us what these young boys said. 'Alam ninyo, Ma'am, kung bakit kami nag-volunteer dito, kasi madali ang promotion. Pag may nahuli, promotion. Pag walang report, walang promotion.'"

"I think," the nun says, "these soldiers are trained for war, wala namang kalaban doon, di maghahanap ng kalaban. E, hindi nila makita ang NPA dahil natatakot silang pumunta sa interior, so nagmimilitary operations sa mga bar-  
yo. The barrio people have composed a song, like 'pa-training training ng ilang buwan tapos mag-ooperasyon, ang kukunin lang pala ay mga manok, mga aso.' It's like being all dressed up for a party but there's nowhere to go."

"This training for war," says the priest, "makes them always tense, they feel they're being watched so they're always ready fo fire. So if they've been moving in the hills and do not see anybody, with all the pressure and tension, anybody who irritates them, bang! And they're not well paid, so when they go to the barrios, they collect from the people--rice, chickens, eggs, whatever they can find. They even tell the people to build their barracks for them and to supply the materials."

"In one barrio," says the nun, her eyes seething with rage, "some soldiers were playing basketball and out of the blue sabi noong isa, 'Ang sarap

bumaril.' Anong klaseng pag-iisip iyon? Kursunada lang. Ilindi maganda kasi ang mukha mo, e. They will even say it."

The nun says the Social Action Center of which she was part was in the process of collating data on military abuses. Now the papers are in the hands of the military. And, she stresses, what they had in the Center were only the reported cases from 1981, after martial law was supposed to have been lifted. "Nakakayanig--halos-araw-araw may nangyayari."

There are, she says, three battalions with headquarters in Western Samar, one in Northern Samar, two in Eastern Samar, not to mention the army battalion, the air force, the navy.

"If the people stay where they are," says the nun, "it's only because they have nowhere else to go."

"I think," says the priest, "evacuation would teach the military a lesson. In 1979 in the north the people were trying to prove they had nothing to do with the NPAs so they had to evacuate. What happened at the evacuation center? Epidemics, and there were no doctors. Worse, there was no food and the people had no work. They were being harassed even at the center."

"How can you say," asks the nun, "that that is God's will for them? Paano nila iyan matatanggap? Image of God ba iyon?"

"The trouble is," says the priest, "they are propagating their monkey business [word(s) missing] of government, and when they are criticized, they say we are hitting the government. We cannot ignore the corruption, the wanton violation of human rights around us, and when we hit the corruption and the violations we are hitting the government, we are radicals."

"Poor lang ang sinasabi, subversive ka na," laughs the nun. "That's why many priests in Luzon cannot understand why we are like this. Kasi sa Luzon halos lahat ng baryo naaabot ng sasakyan. Doon sa Samar naglalalakad kami ng ilang oras and when you get to the barrios you eat only root crops. Talagang naka-kaawa. The first time we went around the people would insist on giving us some money so bibilangan ka nila ng tigsisingko, tig-didiyes. Ku-kunin mo pati ang kanilang huling sentimo?"

"You have to go to our place," says the priest, "feel the vibration of the people and that's the only time you can judge us. People like us, who are trying to be Christians, are being called radicals."

"Nakakahiya to claim we are radicals," says the nun. There are many more radical than I, the way Jesus Christ and John the Baptist were, walang personal possessions. We are only simple priests and religious trying to live out the gospel."

"To think," says the priest, "our leaders are Catholic, then they brag about it, they kill. They're pharisees in our midst."

"Mabuti pa nga ang walang relihiyon, they are more human," says the nun.  
"Tayo, we use religion as an excuse for killing."

"In the time of the crusades," the priest says, "the Catholics waged holy wars. These are holy wars, too, in defense of faith and human dignity. This is not political activism."

"Yes," agrees the nun, "if you really examine it, this is holy war. Doon naghahanap lang sila ng Holy Grail, something sacred, pero hindi buhay. Ito, defense ng tao, buhay ng tao."

Are they, being all too human, afraid for themselves?

"You die only once," says the nun. Pag inalay mo ang buhay para sa tao you don't think of yourself because your life is no longer yours. Ang kinatatatagot ko lang masagasaan ako because then you die for nothing. I think I resolved this a long time ago."

"It is," says the priest, "natural to be afraid for your life but to give up your rights and principles and your faith, then you might as well give up your life. You cannot run away forever."

"How it will end," sighs the nun, "ang mga tao ang sasagot noon. The people will endure up to a point. Maski hindi ka mag-preach ng human rights, pag nasasaktan ka na ..."

## II. The Lawyer Priest

CONFLICT between Church and State, says Fr. Joaquin Bernas, provincial of the Society of Jesus, "is bound to happen, it is inevitable. The disappointing thing would be if you didn't have any conflict because it would mean the people are not awake."

Bernas, a lawyer and former Dean of the Ateneo Law School, explains:

"You look at it this way: the way humanity has its impact on society is a gradual process. In the beginning, of course, men tamed, as it were, nature. That was a first phase. But as progress went on, then there was a certain objectification of the changes they created. These changes began to have a reality distinct from the individual. For instance, let's take the very simple things, the transition from the hunting stage to the farming stage. Once farming got to be a reality, the structure of a farm society gained a reality of its own distinct from the individuals themselves. And this reality, the farming society, had an impact on the activities of the individuals themselves, it affected how they set up their homes, and so forth. It was the same thing with the advent of industrialization. Capitalism has a reality of its own which has an impact on the way people act."

"That is why sociologists speak of various phases of violence. First, a structure is created. This structure puts pressure on individuals, for example, the industrial revolution put pressure on the individuals as a form of violence and

the individuals who were oppressed by these structures reacted. That's another form of violence, and it comes out in terms of revolution, and so forth. That's the second stage of violence. And then the structure reacts by suppression--that's the third phase of violence. That generates still another reaction.

"If one looks at Philippine society, these phases have been in operation. Over the years, in the early sixties and seventies, with gradual conscientization, people, particularly the idealistic, began to see and realize more and more the objectification of the various oppressive structures of society, how these were having an effect on individuals. So they agitated, and we had the period of demonstrations. This produced a corresponding reaction from authorities, either government or private corporations hiring their own armies and moving in to suppress the various movements. And then there is again a reaction from this movement.

"For as long as you have structures which embody certain values and you have these individuals who recognize these structures for what they are and are propelled by their own ideas of justice and equality and so forth, they are bound to react to these things. That is what has happened here and in Latin America. Here you had the early phases--the gradual recognition of the oppressive structures, the period of activism and demonstrations, and then repression, culminating perhaps in the imposition of martial law.

"It's a continuous process. Then you take into consideration the fact that the teaching of the Church has emphasized more and more the social aspect of Christianity and the thrust of the apostolate, particularly in Asia, has become more and more social rather than the individualistic type of spirituality before Vatican II.

"I don't think these conflicts are bad because they can result in adjustments, necessary ones. They could be completely destructive if the total society did not share common values, but I think for as long as even the oppressors and the oppressed possess a certain commonality of values, then I think there can be adjustments. Now, how long that can take, and with how much violence, I don't know.

"There are a lot of valid things in the claim that there is common ground between Marxism and Christianity. The concern for justice is certainly common between them. But when you come to the actual details of the thing, it's hard to say. Did you see the BBC documentary on the Philippines? Father Balweg comes in there and he is telling about himself. Although he says he is with the underground and they showed pictures of him handling rifles and he is involved in the struggle, the way he explains his own position in relation to his priesthood is that the heart of the priesthood is sacrifice of one's life for the sake of one's fellowmen in the same way that Our Lord offered His. And the Mass is basically that, a sacrifice. Balweg says his whole life is a Mass. It's a very noble thing, if you just prescind from the fact that he is a priest without making any judgments on how he lives his priesthood. I wouldn't question the generosity and the sacrifice this person makes. But since I have no familiarity with his own interior life it is hard to make any judgment. What



complicates it very much is, if it is true that he is involved in the movement that is atheistic. During the Japanese Occupation you had a lot of priests in the underground but the ideological aspect was not there. So what are the ultimate motivations, the ultimate values, of the individual? I wouldn't know. But certainly in terms of sacrifice, generosity for the poor and the oppressed, you have to take their hats off to them. They dare a lot of things which I certainly wouldn't dare myself.

"I would hesitate to put labels on the clergy and the religious--whether one is radical, liberal, conservative, whatever, because labels can be not only misleading but also unnecessarily disruptive of chances of unity. In many cases it's not a question of what ideology one holds but more of how one reacts to concrete situations. You could have people whom you might call conservative but then when oppression touches them, then they react in a confrontational way. I think the word subversive is very loosely used by government forces. Subversive in effect, as far as the government is concerned, is anybody who does not agree with them. If you don't like the policy of the NHA and you criticize it, and you get people to disagree with their policy, you are a subversive, no matter what means you use. But if you're going to be technical about it, at least under the Anti-Subversion Law, subversive refers to a person who seeks to overthrow the government and hand it over to the sovereignty of another power. Any sort of change is considered subversion now, when it is not according to the thinking of government authorities.

"I don't think, however, as some people do, that the Church is being persecuted. There are clear signs that the Church is being hindered in many of its works: the farther away you go from the center of power, the more heated the conflict is and the problems are of hindering the work. The government from the very beginning has been very suspicious of basic Christian communities because these in many instances enable the people to stand up against oppression. It gets them together, gives them a sense of strength, a sense of belonging, and so enables them to stand up to oppressive barrio captains, for instance. So to the government the BCCs are a competing power.

"The State and the Church are interested in the same audience, the same people, and in many cases the officers of the state and the population of the state are members of the Church. So it is inevitable that there will have to be interaction between the two. So what is the ideal thing? I wouldn't go back to the confessional state, where you have a state religion, in a situation like that you practice religion out of compulsion, not out of belief. I believe this business of separation is better. Certainly, in a situation we have where we belong to different religions, there should be cooperation in things where we can cooperate. The people can dialogue with one another. Will there be conflict? Again, this is inevitable. The difference would be in the degree, and the survival of the society will depend very much on our values that are common. Certainly, there are a lot of common values because many of them, like justice, charity, peace, are sincere human values. So if we are able to work on these things, to emphasize these, then chances are we can minimize the conflict. Conflict itself can bring about changes for the good of all.

"I think if people in the government leadership were truly committed Christians it would really make much difference. This becomes very evident even on

the small scale. Take for instance the mayor of Cagayan de Oro. The ideals of Mayor Aquilino Pimentel, the ideals of justice and peace, are very much the ideals that Church leaders have been pushing for. It has been very good for Cagayan. We were talking about the phases of violence earlier. In many cases I think the people responsible for violence being perpetrated are not aware of the violence they are committing so that when this reaction comes in they feel they are the offended parties and so they react with repression. So if you ask, for instance, should a Christian be involved in violence? I would say in the first place a Christian should not be involved in this type of violence--repression--but here is where you have a question mark. When people ask, should we be against violence? Here you cannot easily give an answer because it may be necessary."

### III. The Bishop and the Generals

I KNOW PERSONALLY," Bishop Antonio Y. Fortich of Bacolod told the Bishops-Businessmen's Conference a fortnight ago, "that President Marcos does not know these things because he is a man who is trying to do his best to make the Philippines the best country for Filipinos to live in." The good bishop, at his diplomatic best, was referring to what he termed the indiscriminate arrest of priests and nuns all over the country, the most painful to him being the case of Fr. Brian Gore, his own parish priest of 13 years, accused of subversion and illegal possession of explosives and ammunition.

"The military," Bishop Fortich declared, "is trying to destroy what the President is doing. One night I received a call from the President. He asked, what is the matter, Bishop? And he assured me that every man is entitled to the protection of the Constitution. For example, now we are trying to protest against the abuses of the military. The President has said in a speech, any misdemeanor of the uniformed people must be reported immediately to the officials of the government. So I said to our priests, let us protest, these task forces are violating human rights in our province. Many of these so-called task forces are making the poor civilians miserable. They are scared. And these things are really happening in our country."

"General Ramos told me," the Bishop went on, "you tell your priests, they are Filipinos, they have a right to criticize the government. But missionaries who are foreigners are only guests in this country. Having statements from the President and from General Ramos--even if the military defy them--is better than having no statements at all. Next week we shall have a meeting, a few bishops with General Ver, General Ramos, Defense Deputy Minister Barbero. After that we are lobbying for an audience with the President. President Marcos would be fuming with anger, if he only knew what is happening."

Aren't the Church and the military just using each other in the Church-Military Liaison Committee, the Bishop was asked during the open forum. And how long could this go on, Salvador P. Lopez wanted to know.

"If we do not go to the meetings they will brand us as subversives," the Bishop said candidly. "But there is mutual respect. The military will know that we are strong. I told the provincial commander in Negros, remember this,

if you feel you can solve this problem alone, you watch out because the people are observing you, they want to know if you are sincere. I don't know how long it will last, but as long as we are not yet divorced I am taking advantage of this presence for the sake of the poor in the hinterlands. They are very scared."

#### IV. The Religious Superiors

IN THE PHILIPPINES we are called to a commitment to defend human rights and help eliminate the unjust structures in our society that oppress the dignity of people as children of God redeemed by Jesus Christ.

"Hence, we have undertaken new initiatives to help create a society based on justice, truth, freedom, love and peace. For some of us this initiative is in the reorientation of our life and work towards justice; for others, it is in the undertaking of new ministries such as ministries among tribal Filipinos, urban poor, industrial workers, and rural poor.

"New structures of ecclesial communities, especially among the poor, are beginning to emerge.

"Experience shows that the carrying out of this mission is no easy task since it entails an integration that is hard to come by. The salvation we proclaim can neither be restricted to the economic, political and socio-cultural, nor confined to the realm of the purely spiritual. It envisages the whole man in all his aspects, including his openness to God. It seeks the total liberation of man from both personal and social sins, paving the way for God's kingdom. It demands an integral spirituality.

"Hence we recognize our need as religious to take time to reflect and discern the will of God in the signs of the times. While we use every human means for the salvation of man and the transformation of the human situation, we must rely on the power of the Spirit working through man to renew him and the face of the earth."

(Excerpts from the Mission Statement of the Association of Major Religious Superiors of the Philippines).

#### V. The Minister

THE MINISTER of National Defense, Juan Ponce Enrile, speaking before the Mula-win Lions Club in Sta. Maria, Bulacan on October 22, 1982:

"I would like to reiterate the government policy that the radicals in the religious sector may speak out on any subject under the sun, or engage in any secular activities which they believe in God, freedom to be different, freedom from regimentation. This is the essence of our way of life that they want to destroy, which they consider sinful.

"We allow these religious radicals to exercise all of this freedom. Even if we know that by so doing, by so exercising it, they want to destroy this very

freedom, this very State, this very government, this very society, including the Church, which allows the enjoyment of this freedom.

"We allow them to speak out as long as they do not violate the law. As long as they, like you and I, must comply with the law. In which case, if they will violate the law, they will be treated accordingly just like you and I, like all violators of the law. For, after all, there must be one law for everyone, whether we are just ordinary human beings, or whether we are wearing the habit of a priest or a nun.

"Let me make it clear that there is no such thing as a strain in Church-State relations in our country. We have never talked of any strain in Church-State relations. What we hear are some sectors of religious elements in the land, claiming that the government is persecuting the Church. How can the government possibly persecute the Church, when the very people that it must serve are members of that Church? It would be the most foolish effort ever done by a government to persecute the very Church that represents the very people that it serves. For if it does so, then it will be persecuting itself because the State also represents the people that make up the Church."

#### VI. Query

The foregoing are scenarios from our times of men and women of the Church and mean of the State, both claiming to serve the people, both invoking the name of God. The question is, are they serving the same people? Are they invoking the same God?

"If you make my word your home you will indeed be my disciples, you will learn the truth and the truth will make you free."

(John 8:32)

Lorna Kalaw-Tirol

CSO: 4200/151

## PHILIPPINES

### BRIEFS

EEC GRANT EXTENDED--THE EUROPEAN Economic Community has agreed to extend to the Philippines a \$40-million grant to assist the country's dairy development program, Agriculture Minister Arturo R Tanco Jr said yesterday. Tanco said the EEC has agreed to donate 5,000 metric tons of skimmed milk and 1,667 metric tons of butter oil annually for five years. The milk product will be sold by the Philippine Dairy Corporation to local processors. The proceeds will be used by PDC to finance the dairy program. [Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 19 Nov 82 p 2]

WORLD BANK LOAN GRANTED--A \$22.4-million loan has been granted by the World Bank to the Philippine Fisheries Development Authority to finance the national fisheries development project of the government Benito Bengzon, PFDA general manager, said the loan will be channelled to fisheries projects designed to upgrade the livelihood of at least 2,500 municipal fishermen and to increase fish production by about 700 tons worth P8.9 million annually. [Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS In English 19 Nov 82 p 2]

NPA SYMPATHIZERS, SUPPORTERS SURRENDER--THREE women commanders of the New People's Army, tired of fighting and living in fear and restlessness in their mountain lairs, have reversed their fate last week. Instead of leading their forces in an armed conflict against government troopers, they rallied some 500 NPA sympathizers and supporters in barangays Kamada and Uhas, both in Magpet, North Cotabato, to return to the fold of the law. Pledging their allegiance before Gov. Carlos B. Cajelo in simple rites were Commanders Connie, Tessie and Amy. Their real names were not disclosed. A big factor which resulted to the mass surrender, Cajelo said, was the sincerity civilian and military officials in the area showed through the government's "Balik-Kapatid" program. [Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 23 Nov 82 p 2]

NPA HIT MAN KILLED--DAVAO CITY--A hitman of the liquidation squad of the New People's Army in Southern Mindanao, and another rebel suspect were killed Saturday in a brief gunfight with lawmen at Bolton Isla, about 300 meters from the PC barracks, this city. Col. Dionisio S. Tan-gatue Jr., southern Mindanao PC regional commander, identified the fatalities as Renato Maglupay alias "Florie" and "Puru," the head of the Sparrow Unit in the Southern Mindanao regional party committee of the CPP-NPA, and Jose Edrada, alias "Victor" and "Pepe," former political officer of the CPP-NPA in Calinan and Baguio districts, this city Tan-Gatue said the two were the principal suspects in the killing of local newsman Edgar Nagar and a number of PC soldiers. [Manila PHILIPPINES DAILY EXPRESS in English 23 Nov 82 p 2]

# PRESIDENT WANTS 15-YEAR TERM

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 20 Nov 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Peter Balasuriya]

[Text]

President J.R.Jayewardene called upon the people to give him a 15-year-term to meet the nation's aspirations.

Comparing the Government to a five-year old child now, the President said it was only when the child attains 15 years that it reached maturity. It was the same with the Government, a 15 year period would ensure maximum economic prosperity.

He was addressing a mammoth gathering at the Hatton Bazaar yesterday when he made this appeal.

Mr.Jayewardene was greeted by a vast crowd despite intermittent showers.

Observing the TV antennas over several buildings in Hatton Mr.Jayewardene said it was Government's desire that every home had a TV. This was possible very soon with the power generation proposed from the Victoria Scheme.

The President said that the Country's march toward economic prosperity was gathering momentum. He, therefore, looked forward to the people's support to continue this programme without interruption.

Referring to an earlier speech by Mr.R.P.Wijesiri, the President observed that Mr. Wijesiri had blown the lid off the SLFP secrets. How could such a party ever seek a mandate from the people in this country.

Speaking on the Referendum, the President said that

when the matter came up in Parliament only four members Mr.Lakshman Jayakody, Mr.Anura Bandaranaike, Mr. Ananda Dassanayake and the CP member Sarath Muttetuwegama dissented.

If Mrs.Bandaranaike was faced with such an advantage in Parliament, she would have exploited that situation and continued in power without seeking a Referendum, but he as the leader of the country commanding 53% of the votes was now appearing before the people to obtain their consent to continue in power for another six year period.

At the recent Presidential Elections the N'eliya district polled 49,418 votes. He appealed to the voters to repeat this at the Referendum on December 22

Mr.Gamini Dissanayake the Minister of Lands, Land Development and Mahaveli Development said President Jayewardene's success at the Presidential Elections created world history. No country in the world electing a President had ever returned a President to power with such a majority. This was the result of the nation's call for a better world to live in with self respect people, have placed confidence in the political leadership of Mr.Jayewardene. "I am certain the President will be given the consent without hesitation".

# SIRIMA ACCEPTS REFERENDUM CHALLENGE

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 20 Nov 82 pp 1, 3

[Text]

"Prime Minister Mr. Premadasa has challenged the SLFP to come out into the open and defeat the UNP at the forthcoming referendum. The SLFP will accept that challenge despite the severe odds it has to face, SLFP leader Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike said in a statement to the press. Mrs. Bandaranaike said:

"Today, many SLFP organisers including its General Secretary are being held in Army camps and by the police. The radio press or TV makes no mention of the SLFP. The SLFPers are being harassed. It is in this context that Mr. Premadasa is challenging us not to stay inside our homes but to come out into the open and work against the UNP.

"The SLFP will do not only that. The people will come to know about the anti-UNP referendum campaign spearheaded by me on November 23."

The statement adds:

"Mr. Premadasa asks us to come out into the open and work but many of our organisers are incarcerated. Today, our main task has become the search of our supporters who have been arrested. Despite that, our resolve to defeat the UNP has not diminished at all. Our organisational strength will in fact increase.

"Today, the UNP is attempting to find out the capacity of the SLFP's organisational strength. We are not willing to diverge our plans in this respect to the UNP.

"The people have reposed their trust in us and we have embarked on a programme of action. The UNP will get to know of our programme on the 23rd.

"All forms of media are today under the control of the government. All kinds of government propaganda are being disseminated through the state media. On the other hand some of the opposition presses have been sealed by the Government. The position of the Opposition is that it is not able to print a notice on its own. It is in this situation that certain big-wigs are throwing challenges at us.

"Today, people's festivals have been made into political rallies. Religious festivals have become places for political speeches.

"Attacks are being made from certain places where we have no right to reply. If accusations are made from places where we too could reply, then we are ever ready."

Mrs. Bandaranaike has said that she was prepared to meet the challenge of Mr. Premadasa. If her civic rights were restored she would challenge Mr. Premadasa to contest a seat with her.

CSO: 4200/153

SIRIMA ATTACKS EFFORT AT OUSTER

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 21 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by Nandasena Suriyarachchi]

[Text]

SLFP leader Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike yesterday lashed out at certain party dissidents who are reported to have attempted to oust her from the leadership of the party.

According to informed sources, Mrs. Bandaranaike had, at the All-Island Party Organisers meeting, come out openly and said that she had information that certain persons in the politbureau wanted to remove her.

"The SLFP is not just two or three persons but the entire party," she had said, and added that she could be sent out of the party only if the general membership of the SLFP so desired and not on the whims and fancies of two or three persons.

According to informed sources, Mrs. Bandaranaike's remarks were a direct attack at a few members of the Politbureau who were reported to be making moves to make her play a low key role in party politics.

Yesterday's meeting of the All Island Party Organisers were held at the Rosmead Place residence of Mrs. Bandaranaike. The venue was shifted from the SLFP headquarters to her residence when SLFPers who turned up found two police trucks parked outside the premises. With rumors that "outsiders" were attempting to force infiltrate the meeting, it was decided to shift the venue to Rosemead Place, informed sources said.

At yesterday's meeting it was decided to oppose the extension of the life of parliament through a referendum. A proposal made by Messers D. M. Jayaratne, former MP for Gampola and A. M. Jinadasa to boycott the referendum was rejected and instead it was decided to oppose the extension of Parliament at the referendum.

Sources also said that the proposal by Mr. S. D. Bandaranayake, MP for Gampaha that the SLFP should join a National Government was not taken up for discussion. The consensus on Mr. Bandaranayake's proposal had been that since the Politbureau had already decided against it, there was no purpose in discussing it once again.



## REFERENDUM CAMPAIGN ANALYSIS

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 13 Nov 82 p 6

[Text]

The official campaign for the referendum starts next week, on November 17, with President J.R. Jayewardene touring the 24 districts and Prime Minister R. Premadasa and the Ministers covering the constituencies.

Ministers, District Ministers and MPs will spearhead the campaigns in their respective areas on behalf of the referendum while opposition leaders will fire the anti-referendum guns. The C.W.C. meets on November 17 to decide its stance, which will predictably be for the referendum.

Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike, the SLFP leader, will be in charge of her party's campaign, the clamp on her civic rights regardless. She is legally permitted to participate in the referendum, which is beyond the pale of her civic rights. The referendum does not come within range of the election laws.

According to SLFP sources, Mrs. Bandaranaike has been considerably shaken by revelations of alleged plans for violence by the Hector-Actor (Hactor) Group. She is apparently biding her time till the investigations into the conspiracy are over. Mother and son were to be pushed out of the SLFP ring if Kobbekaduwa suc-

ceeded. She is probably planning the reverse.

The investigations, incidentally, are in charge of crack investigator D.I.G. Tyrrel Gunatilleke, who was recently reinstated following the arraignment of the chief prosecution witness in Selfridge's case against him. That witness, the shop's detective, was recently charged with burglary.

D.I.G. Gunatilleke has already examined some of the Kobbekaduwa group's toplayer, Hector Kobbekaduwa himself, Vijaya Kumaranatunga, wife Chandrika (Mrs. Bandaranaike's daughter), Anura Bandaranaike and several others.

## Mrs Bandaranaike

Anura, however, left for Europe last Sunday, reportedly to attend some youth conferences. His date of return is still not known but if whispers in that camp are correct, he will be a notable SLFP absentee during the campaign.

Mrs. Bandaranaike

He is currently, like his mother, disillusioned. But, unlike his mother he bared that disillusionment publicly. Although he toed his party line regarding the referendum during the parliamentary debate, he however came out strongly

against Marxist infiltration into the SLFP.

It did not require a political seer to recognise his unhappiness as a SLFPer and more so as (one-time) heir to the Bandaranaike mantle.

There is considerable political gossip that he may either form another party or throw in his lot with the UNP.

He does see eye to eye with his mother who is, and wants him, too, to play a waiting game. Mrs. Bandaranaike suddenly finds herself in the worst plight ever—most of which is of her making—since she entered politics.

Scorned by her own SLFPers (the Hactor gang), cold-shouldered by her children, she virtually ploughs a lonely political and family furrow. She has antagonised party loyalists by her authoritarian methods, which infected her family in varying degrees.

Even son-in-law Vijaya Kumaranatunge, fuelled by ambition, has projected Kobbekaduwa as against Mrs. Bandaranaike in the party hierarchy.

The SLFP, consequently, is disintegrating faster than before the presidential election. The publicised exodus of big names like Kalugalle, Wijesiri and now Basil Rajapakse apart,

rank and filers are long-jumping to the UNP.

Why are the SLFP breakaways not switching to the left? For one thing, they will not have any truck with Marxism. For another, and more important reason, they see in J.R. Jayewardene a sanctuary for the present and a signpost of hope to the future. Hence Maithripala Senanayake has signed up with the pro-referendum ranks.

More defections from the SLFP to the UNP are expected when government releases the White Paper on the alleged Kobbekaduwa conspiracy for violence after the presidential election. From all accounts it will abound in grim revelations.

Mr. Kobbekaduwa will probably see Red—as will the people—when the White Paper is published. In fact, he will reportedly have to face charges regarding the publication of the ration book and—to crown his woes—is reportedly lined up for an election petition.

## **Saboteurs**

Home Affairs Minister K.W. Devanayagam has been directed to weed out subversive elements in the Public Service. This move is welcomed by the public at large and organisations geared to national development, who feel that those appointed by previous regimes are still undermining confidence in

the government.

Among those under surveillance is a key official of a plantations corporation,

against whom a memorandum was sent recently to the President.

This individual reportedly keeps antagonising the tea trade by his refusal to accept their advice and by his arrogant behaviour. They are extremely concerned about his attitude since he has touched off more than storms in tea cups at a time when tea is taking a beating.

## **The Tamils**

President Jayewardene is facing heavy pressure from his government group as well as extremist groups to cease treating the TULF as a government ally and, instead, consider it, as in fact it is, an opposition party.

He initiated a dialogue with the TULF last year to sort out mutual problems. During these pow-wows he decided to treat the TULF virtually, as a partner in a responsive co-operation move.

The President at every monthly meeting listened to and acted on TULF complaints and requests. Many of the irks which the TULF complained about were removed and, from all appearances, the ironing out of Tamil problems seemed well on the way.

Apparently, when the

presidential election came along the TULF, facing a new force, the Tamil Liberation Eelam Front as well as the Eelam-oriented Tamil Congress, possibly could not openly come out for Mr. Jayewardene.

There were whispers that the TULF would, however, not openly oppose the Tamils voting for the President. Instead, it called for a boycott of the presidential election. It was, however, alleged that the TULF secretly worked against the UNP. The pro-Kobbekaduwa vote in Jaffna seemed to prove this.

Angered by all this, UNPers have protested to the President against TULF behaviour. They point out that not only did the North not vote for Mr. Jayewardene, but voted for Mr. Kobbekaduwa.

They also argue that sections of Sinhala votes were also being lost to the UNP by these fruitless UNP-TULF alliance and have demanded that the TULF be treated like the SLFP—an opposition party.

As a first move they suggested that government officers with proven TULF sympathies in the North, East and Wanni areas be removed. "Insider" learns that the President has promised to consider this. He has, in fact, agreed to meet Mr. Amirthalingam (who wanted to meet him) in spite of opposition to this in the UNP hierarchy.

## BANKS ALERTED AGAINST TIGER ROBBERY ATTEMPTS

Colombo SUN in English 23 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by Ranil Weerasinghe]

[Text] Banks and other institutions holding and handling large sums of money in the north are to be directed to maintain maximum security against possible terrorist strikes.

This alert comes in the wake of a 'freezing' of a large amount of the terrorists funds which were found to have been invested on their behalf by a member of the clergy presently in custody

Intelligence reports indicate that the funds collected by this terrorist group including the Rs. 8.1 million taken at Neerveli had now dwindled to practically nothing.

The security forces which have now positively identified the Chavakachcheri attackers as the Liberation Tigers headed by Prabhakaran believe that the arrests of several members of the group following the Neerveli Bank raid, the maintenance of its remaining members in South India and the recent arrest in South India of Prabhakaran himself, have left the Tigers very low financially.

The group, defence analysts claim, had come out of 'retirement' after an year and while their initial need had appeared to be weapons, money would now become a more vital necessity.

The Prabhakaran group it was also pointed out were not only totally cold blooded in the course of operations but as in Kurumbasitty had no qualms about robbing members of the public.

Investigations are now underway to determine whether members of this group were now carrying out a campaign of extortion in the north. Although police have learned that a number of wealthy individuals had been forced to contribute to the 'terrorist funds' no one was apparently willing to come forward with any complaint.

Naval patrolling in the north has been strengthened as it is believed that the Tigers who are firmly entrenched in South India where they even have training camps, would be slipping in and out of this neighbouring country for their operations.

Following attempts by their alleged front liners like Kuttimani, Jegan and thangathura; the new additions to the Prabakaran group are virtually unknown to the security forces making their tracing all that much harder.

What has now perturbed the latter however is the fact that armed with weapons like the M1 calibre .30 carbine , and that they are are also conversant in the use of explosives.

CSO: 4200/154

# SECURITY UNITS TO BE UNIFIED

Colombo SUN in English 15 Nov 82 p 3

[Article by Ranil Weerasinghe]

[Text]

Security services, throughout the country are to come under a single umbrella organisation.

This is to establish and encourage a scientific and professional approach towards industrial and commercial security.

The Sri Lankan organisation, modelled on the lines of the leading British association — the International Professional Security Association (IPSA) is being formed for the prevention of thefts, frauds, sabotage and accidents.

Assisted by the police, the association is expected to promote a centralized body to improve techniques and methods and also to establish and foster ethical and professional standards.

This is vital, it has been pointed out, as at present modern security demands, particularly industrial security tasks are being performed by ad hoc agencies that provide personnel in varied uniforms. In fact they are glorified 'watchers', it has been claimed.

According to the police, in developing countries such as Sri Lanka, the security of all industries is so vital that it warrants the undertaking of this function by the police department. However it has been found that the police department's resources and available expertise which is largely geared to prevent and detect

conventional crime, do not make this a very practicable proposition.

However, the police working alongside a well trained private security network, it has been explained could form a social defence programme which could effectively combat any losses and prevent a setback to that particular industry.

For this, it is necessary that professional standards of recruitment, salary scales, and training are maintained, it has been stated.

Steps will also be taken to create an awareness among the managements in general to the need for security — thereby emphasising that security is an integral function of the management.

The managements and workforces are also to be made aware of the importance of security for the smooth functioning and perhaps the very survival of their organisations. This is to allow the entire organisation to play a more meaningful role in the prevention of thefts, sabotage or accidents.

The super imposition of security, it is claimed, would be of vital importance in co-ordinating a security policy.

However, this would have to be done after a careful study of the security requirements and a proper evaluation of local needs in consultation with experts in the field of industrial security.

# PRIESTS ARRESTED IN NORTH

Colombo SUN in English 15 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by Ranil Weerasinghe]

[Text]

**The Defence Ministry yesterday initiated an immediate probe on the northern separatist movement's foreign fundings and connections with religious groups.**

This directive came after security forces in the north yesterday took three members of the clergy into custody for allegedly having a large stock of subversive literature in their possession.

The security teams which launched a pre-dawn raid on a house in Colombaturai, near Gurunagar, recovered literature and a number of long playing records which contained songs and speeches calling for an armed struggle.

The records which had been pressed in Canada and the United States, were found in covers of records made by the late country and western singer Jim Reeves.

Intelligence teams which were questioning the three members of the clergy yesterday morning have learnt that the three "missionary" priests had been abroad on several occasions.

Defence Ministry sources told 'SUN' that steps were being taken to determine whether members of the clergy were being used to collect funds, set up youth cells and even bring in subversive literature and material from abroad.

Inquiries will also be conducted to ascertain whether members of this religious body had been behind attempts to forcibly settle Tamil families on state land in the north.

Information regarding the use of certain foreign non-governmental organisations with religious connections to further the cause and siphon money to the separatist movement is also being collated.

'SUN' learns that of the large number of separatists groups functioning abroad many were only interested in making money for themselves. But there were others who were utilising the funds collected for the promotion of separatist activity.

Defence Ministry sources said that there was reason to believe that the money was also being used to purchase arms and explosives.

The use of a calibre .30 carbine by the terrorists at Chavakachcheri appears to confirm this.

The fact that they were resorting less to robberies and more to arms confrontation indicates they were well backed financially at present, they added.

Meanwhile, the Army also took into custody a joint secretary of the Tamil Eelam Liberation Front (TELF), Elai Vedan, and detained him at the Gurunagar Army camp for questioning. No reason was given for his arrest.

'HOT MONEY' DEPOSITED BY PRIESTS

Colombo SUN in English 16 Nov 82 p.1

[Article by Ranil Weerasinghe]

[Text] Direct links between the Northern terrorists and several members of the Roman Catholic clergy, being questioned by Police and Army intelligence officers, have now been established.

The security forces which took three members of the clergy in for questioning on Sunday brought in one more priest following the recovery of Rs. 69,000 in crisp thousand rupee notes yesterday. The three priests taken in were Fr. Singarayar, Fr. Jeevendrapaul and Fr. Paul Nadchathiram. The latter was released yesterday.

The money is believed to be part of the 8.1 million rupees taken by terrorists at Neerveli following the ambush of a convoy in which two policemen were killed and which had been converted into new notes.

Another Rs. 1.1 million rupees deposited and withdrawn two weeks ago from a finance company is also being traced. Part of this is believed to have been re-deposited by a Parish Priest from Kayts Fr. Reginald Rajanayagam who was taken in for questioning yesterday and released in the night. Two other priests Fr. Sinharasa and Fr. Soosainayagam were also taken in for questioning in this connection.

The other part of the 1.1 million rupees is said to have been given after withdrawal to another individual referred to as "Seelan".

Investigative teams, who are going through the residences of the priests taken in for questioning, have also recovered a letter believed to have been sent from Manila calling upon the militant members of the clergy to emulate their counterparts in strife-torn Northern Ireland.

A special CID team has now been detailed to carry out investigations into the financial dealings of the four priests to determine whether more of the money stolen and robbed by the terrorists had been 'laundered' in this manner.

The police have also been directed to look into the 'foreign connections' of the priests with the aim of unravelling the involvement of any other religious or non-government organisation engaged in financing or supporting terrorist activity.

Investigators also believe that some of the priests had knowledge of the medical care made available to the terrorists in the Chavakachcheri Police station attack.

CSO: 4200/154



EXPLOSIVE CACHE DISCOVERED

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 13 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by Norman Palihawadana]

[Text]

The Pettah Police discovered on Thursday night a large quantity of explosives at Rosmead Place illegally stocked by a person said to be resident of the North. The Police seized 20 bags of explosive materials and took four persons into custody.

The police believe this large cache of explosives was used to supply the terrorists in the North and that the materials had been imported into the country.

The leader of the gang involved in this is said to have escaped in a motor car when the police had raided the store.

Although the police had given chase, he is said to have got away.

In addition to the explosives, the police also took into custody but the investigation is expected to be handed over to the CID.

The value of the explosives recovered is said to be over Rs. 500,000. The police suspect that there are other such stores around Colombo which supply the Northern terrorists with explosives.

The raid was conducted by Inspector Shelton Perera, and Sub-Inspectors Wilfred and Nihal Perera with a party of constables from the Pettah Police.

CSO: 4200/152

GOLD, SILVER BARTERED FOR EXPLOSIVES

Colombo SUN in English 19 Nov 82 pp 1, 3

[Text] Gold and silver from Sri Lanka are bartered for explosive chemicals from India between smuggling groups of the two countries.

This has been uncovered by CID detectives probing the "explosive chemicals affair."

According to evidence now available, the trader who is evading arrest, in this case had maintained a constant contact with a group of Sri Lanka and Indian smugglers and had provided the Lankan smugglers with gold and silver jewellery to be smuggled into India.

This jewellery sources said, had been collected by this trader through a chain of jewellery shops, buying old gold.

These gold items had been sold in India and with that money, the trader is believed to have funded an Indian smuggling ring, that had supplied him with chemicals used in the manufacture of explosives from Singapore.

With the connivance of certain government sector officials these chemicals were either smuggled into the country via Hendala and Usweta-keiyawa or inside legitimate containers, direct from Singapore.

Among the Indian smugglers, investigators believe that there could be a few Sri Lankan nationals who have now taken Indian citizenship.

Meanwhile investigators are also attempting to ascertain whether monies collected by northern terrorists through robberies had been made use of as payments for these chemicals.

CSO: 4200/154

NAXALITE WEAPONS STILL IN CITY

Colombo SUN in English 13 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by Aruna Kalatunga]

[Text]

The attempt by Naxalite groups to unleash violence in the city by attacking several installations and assassinate several top politicians in Colombo is now being probed by a special police team.

This investigation is being described by police sources as a parallel investigation into what is being carried out by DIG Tyrell Gunatilleke and his team with DIG (Metropolitan) Edward Gunewardene in charge of the investigation.

According to police sources, this inquiry will be concentrated on activities carried out in Colombo and will not involve any political investigation into the party hierarchy of the SLFP.

It is expected that detailed inquiries will be made on intelligence reports that guns and explosives had been collected in Colombo. These arms are still believed to be stored in Colombo.

One such 'arms dump' was raided by police at Kolonnawa where they found five hand bombs, two revolvers and a shot gun. They arrested twelve suspects in this connection.

The team is attempting to ascertain why these arms had not been disposed of once the attempt was discovered and the emergency declared. According to sources, it is believed that these factions are still awaiting a chance to launch their attacks.

EXPLOSIVE CHEMICAL WAREHOUSE SEALED

Colombo SUN in English 15 Nov 82 p 3

[Text]

Police yesterday moved in to seal another warehouse of chemicals, which is alleged to be the central store for a group of merchants supplying northern terrorists with explosive materials.

This follows a breakthrough last Friday, where police raided a house at Rosmead Place and recovered chemicals — worth more than 100,000 rupees — used in the manufacture of explosives.

They have now uncovered material which suggests a well planned and co-ordinated operation by radical political groups in the north to elude the armed forces and the periodical house-to-house searches for explosives, arms and ammunition in that area.

It is now believed that the explosives were temporarily

stored in Colombo after being smuggled into the country via Singapore and South Korea before being taken to Jaffna in small quantities.

The Criminal Investigation Department which was called in yesterday to assist the Pettah Police, is expected to check all customs records of persons believed to be involved in these activities.

Meanwhile, teams from the special unit now probing planned incidence of post-election violence in the city, of Colombo were also called into assist in this investigation. They are expected to find out whether there are any more stores in the city.

However, the police have been unable to trace the kingpin of the racket, the man who is responsible for importing these chemicals.

CSO: 4200/154

PAMPHLETS REVEAL POSSIBLE LEFTIST-TIGER TIE-UP

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 13 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by D.B.S. Jeyaraj]

[Text]

Extremist left-wing elements are reportedly resorting to subtle propaganda under cover of the proscribed terrorist movement, 'The Liberation Tigers of Eelam'.

Security personnel investigating terrorist activities are at present, probing the mystery of pamphlet-letters appealing directly to the services personnel operating in the north.

Although the letters, which are in English and Tamil, bear the frank 'Liberation Tigers of Eelam' and the head of a tiger, informed sources told "The Island" that they believed the pamphlets were not authentic "Tiger" epistles.

The original "Tiger" pamphlet-letters and the present ones differ in the printing and style of language. The figure of the tiger in the letter, too, has a minor difference compared to the earlier letter. In addition the figure of the tiger has been printed in red whereas

earlier letters had it in black.

Informed sources told "The Island" this indicated that these letters were not printed by the northern terrorists.

The letters, which were in the form of an appeal to soldiers stationed in the North, requested there to "fight against the oppressor state of Sri Lanka and as her in a socialist state."

This is the first time that a letter of this sort has been sent to service personnel in the north.

There are reportedly 2500 soldiers stationed at present there.

Informed sources told "The Island" that certain leftist parties and organisations were quite active in the north. Security intelligence had indicated that there was a possibility of a tie-up between radical elements in the south and extremist elements in the north," these sources said.

CSO: 4200/152

## CID ARREST VIJAY, SEIZE SLFP FILES

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 20 Nov 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Ajith Samaranayake]

[Text]

The leader of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike claimed yesterday that on the eve of the party's All-Island Executive Committee meeting scheduled for today, the CID had walked into the party's Darley Road Headquarters and seized the files. Mrs. Bandaranaike flanked by leaders of the parties which will campaign from a common platform against the UNP at the Referendum was speaking at a Press Conference which began nearly half an hour behind schedule because of the arrest of the party's Assistant Secretary Vijay Kumaranatunge at his Rosmead Place residence shortly after 3.00 pm yesterday. "Just before I left home they came and took him away" the SLFP leader said. She said about 15 key figures of the party hierarchy were in Police custody while the number of village level organisers under detention amounted to hundreds.

"By the time the Referendum is over all of us might be in custody" she said.

Mrs. Bandaranaike said that the detention of the SLFP General Secretary Ratnasiri Wickremarajaya had seriously hampered party work. He was held in solitary confinement at Mutwal by the Army. "After several requests his wife was allowed to take him meals, but he is a criminal" Mrs. Bandaranaike said. The SLFP leader said November 24 was the last day for a recognised political party to send the

names of its agents for the Referendum. If Mr. Wickremarajaya was not released from custody before this, the party would not be able to furnish the list.

SLFP's Deputy President T.B. Illangaratne said that the SLFP had addressed a letter to the President through its Parliamentary leader Lakshman Jayakody asking for an early interview to discuss the matter. "The President is in Kandy and we are told that he will return on Monday" Mrs. Bandaranaike said.

The Opposition leaders at yesterday's Press briefing strongly deplored the Government's move to hold the Referendum under Emergency regulations. "The Communist-oriented Daily 'Aththa' has been sealed and several printing presses which printed our literature have been closed. Under these circumstances who will work for us?" the Sri Lanka Communist Party's Deputy President Pieter Keuneman asked.

Mr. Keuneman said that in spite of the CP being accused of encouraging a Naxalite movement within the SLFP not a single member of the CP had been questioned so far. Reminded by a pressman that Mr. J.R. Jayewardene had as leader of the Opposition accused Mrs. Bandaranaike's former son-in-law Kumar Rupasinghe of being a Naxalite, Mr. Hector Kobbekaduwa quipped, "The logic is simple. Whoever is Mrs. Bandaranaike's son-in-law is charged with being a Naxalite"

Asked about allegations made by the Government and its media that Mr.Kobbekaduwe had not visited Mrs.Bandaranaike during or since the election and that there were differences between them, Mrs.Bandaranaike asked rhetorically "Will we be here in that case?". Mr.Kobbekaduwe said that this was because she had lacked civic rights. On the subject of a national Government Mrs. Bandaranaike said "I have made a statement opposing it". Anyway no such proposal has been made to us"

Asked how they could condemn the closure of the 'Aththa' when the 1970-77 Government had done the same to the publications of Independent Newspapers, Mrs.Bandaranaike said that when this was done there was no election in the offing like the present Referendum. "The moment we wanted to go to the polls we lifted the ban" she said.

Asked how they could oppose the extension of Parliament's life term when the previous Government, too, had extended its term for two years from 1972, Mr. Keuneman said that had been done because the new Consti-

tution had come into operation that year. "But what is happening here? The President even two days after the Presidential Elections told the Foreign Press that a Parliamentary Election would be held and the only question was the date, but when he found that he couldn't win it he thought of this fantastic device of a Referendum which is sought to be foisted on the people" he said.

The Opposition parties represented yesterday were the SLFP (Mrs.Bandaranaike, Mr. Illangaratne and Mr.Kobbekaduwe), the CP (Mr.Keuneman and Mr.K.P.Silva), the Sri Lanka Samasamaja Party (Mr.Anil Moonesinghe and Mr.Percy Wickremesekara), the MEP Mr. Dinesh Gunawardene), the Democratic Workers' Congress Political Wing (Mr.A.Aziz), the Lanka Jathika Peramuna (Mr. Jinadasa Niyathapala) and the Democratic People's Front. A spokesman explained that the LSSP which was also a party to the campaign had not been able to send a representative because it was holding a Central Committee meeting at the time.

CSO: 4200/153

OPPOSITION HOUSE-TO-HOUSE CAMPAIGN

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 21 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by Daya Lankapura]

[Text]

Nine political parties have planned a house-to-house campaign next week against the proposal to extend the life of Parliament by six years through a referendum.

Their strategy is to conduct the campaign at a personal level instead of concentrating on large public rallies.

The ten parties comprise the SLFP, LSSP, MEP, Communist Party (Moscow Wing) Sri Lanka Sama Samaja Party, NSSP, Democratic Workers Congress (Political Wing) and the Lanka Jatika Peramuna.

Public rallies will be held on a district-wise basis with smaller rallies on an electoral basis.

The first rally will be held on Tuesday at Hyde Park presided over by the SLFP leader, Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike.

Messrs Hector Kobbekaduwe, T.B. Ilangaratne, Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, K.P. Silva, Dinesh Gunawardhana, Anil Moonesinghe and Jinadasa Niyathapala are scheduled to speak at this meeting.

Meanwhile, in a statement issued yesterday, the JVP called for a united front of all individuals and organisations to vote against the referendum.

CSO: 4200/153



## REFERENDUM MEASURE AGAINST TERRORISM

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 21 Nov 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Peter Balasuriya]

[Text]

A major percentage of the country's population lived in want and most children were undernourished. If this situation continued, people would prefer to hand over the government to a terrorist party than remain passive witnesses to democracy.

President J. R. Jayewardene said this when he addressed a referendum campaign meeting in the heart of Kandy City yesterday.

He said it was to avoid a situation like this that he gave a new orientation to democracy by incorporating the right of seeking a referendum in law so that the people's consent could be obtained to complete the gigantic development schemes and ensure a contented nation in the future. The government believed in democracy to the letter.

In pursuit of this belief the Government would never resort to violence to put down any form of terrorism. "We will get the people to do it through the use of the referendum" the President added.

A referendum was not undemocratic at all. It was a democratic weapon in common use in any modern democratic state to obtain the consent of the

people on issue that vitally affected them. Critics and opponents of the government may ask the people not to vote at a referendum or to answer in the negative but nobody could boldly say that a referendum was anti-democratic.

The referendum Act, was passed to enable the government to approve any piece of legislation considered vital and in the best interest of the nation.

In this instance, the people had elected him as President for a further period of 6 years but could not solve their problems without a team of trusted and competent men to assist him, in the massive task ahead of him. Even if Parliament approved this request unanimously he would still have to seek the people's consent through a referendum. "I want the Menika's, the Kumarihamy's the Podisingho's, the Suppiah's and the Abdul Cader's to consent to this. That is the purpose of the referendum".

In fact, the President added he would have preferred it if people were vested with the power even to elect the judiciary.

Referring to the TULF's

decision to resign next year, the President said they need not wait till next year for the purpose they could do it immediately if they wanted to.

Mrs. Bandaranaike, who once forgot all about general elections and even local elections was now criticising the proposal to hold a referendum.

He appealed to the people to repose in his ministers the same confidence they placed in him.

Complaining the government to a cricket team he said that as the captain of the team he would not be able to play a winning match if the bowler hurled a bomb instead of a ball or the batsman used a gun instead of a bat.

When President Jayewardene referred an alleged statement by a Buddhist monk at a certain meeting that "J. R. Jayewardene's entrails should be removed", a member of the audience interrupted the President to say that he had been present at the meeting and that the monk uttered those words.

President Jayewardene told the man to meet him after the meeting because what he said was valuable evidence.

SUTANTIRAN MATERIALS 'DANGEROUS'

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 20 Nov 82 pp 1, 3

[Article by Gregory Wickremesinghe]

[Text]

The newspaper "Suthantiram" contained material which was calculated to be prejudicial to the interests of national security and the preservation of public order. The material the newspaper contained was likely to incite or encourage persons to create a civil commotion, claimed Secretary to the Ministry of State in an affidavit filed yesterday in the Court of Appeal.

The Secretary to the State Ministry had stated so by way of filing answer in respect of an application made to Court earlier by Ceylon Newspapers Ltd. Colombo, on the sealing of the TULF organ "Suthanthiram", a publication of the newspaper firm.

By the application filed under Article 140 of the Constitution, the newspaper firm has sought a Court order for a writ of certiorari and mandamus. The Secretary to the State Ministry and the Inspector-General of Police have been cited as respondents to the application.

The Secretary to the State Ministry had stated to Court that he made order on October 20 in terms of Regulation 14(3)(a) in respect of the newspaper in question in the lawful exercise of the powers vested in him. Police officers acting in terms of that order took necessary action as they lawfully might for securing compliance with that order.

He claimed that the paper carried a large photograph of a soldier with a bayoneted rifle pointed at a fallen person with a caption in the Tamil language

The Paper also carried a front page article aimed at inciting Tamil nationals. The Article stated that the glorious motherland of Tamil Eelam was under a siege by the neighbouring State of Sri Lanka.

The State Ministry Secretary claimed further that the article tried to make out that the children and brotheren who wanted the liberation of Tamil Eelam were kept in army camps under torture. The article had also stated that two fighters for liberation were ready to kiss the hangman's noose. In bold front page headlines there was an appeal to reject Presidential and all other elections of Sri Lanka.

He had stated that considering material published in the paper in the light of the existing situation in the Jaffna district, he was of the opinion that the publication of the newspaper tended to incite violence and cause communal disharmony and feelings of ill-will and hostility to security forces engaged in their lawful duties in the Jaffna District. Hence he considered it necessary to make that order.

The Secretary to the State Ministry had also contended that the petitioner's application was misconceived and that the petitioner was not entitled in law to the relief's asked for.

The affidavit was filed by Mr. T.G. Gooneratne, State Attorney, on behalf of the respondents.

The Court comprising Justice O.S.M. Seneviratne and Justice H.A.G. de Silva listed the application for argument for December 6.

# HECTOR CHARGED WITH CORRUPT PRACTICES

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 13 Nov 82 pp 1, 9

[Article by Norton Weerasinghe]

[Text]

Mr. Harsha Abeywardene, the Secretary of the UNP, has filed a criminal prosecution against Mr Hector Kobbekaduwa, the SLFP Presidential candidate, alleging the commission of corrupt practices during the presidential election.

Mr. Abeywardene said yesterday that this action in the High Court of Colombo was filed with the permission of the Attorney-General on Wednesday.

On Thursday, Mr. Kobbekaduwa filed an election petition in the Supreme Court challenging President Jayewardene's election on October 20. (see story on this page).

The UNP Secretary said that matters covered in the action he had filed included the issue of forged rice ration books, the making of false statements etc.

The papers were filed in court on Mr. Abeywardene's behalf by Mr. M. Herman Perera, attorney-at-law.

A list of 66 witnesses, including several police officers have been cited.

Among the witnesses cited in the action are Vijaya Kumaranatunga, Chandrika Bandula Kumaranatunga,

Food Commissioner N. Pulendran and Mr. Harsha Abeywardene himself.

Mr. Abeywardene reported to court that it was brought to his notice that a spurious document entitled "Ration Book - 83rd series" had been distributed between 17th September, 1982 and 21st of October, 1982 in various parts of the country by agents and supporters of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party.

Upon further investigations he received credible information that the said document had been prepared, printed and distributed throughout Sri Lanka by office-bearers and members of the SLFP, including A. V. O. N. Abeygunasekera, acting as Mr. Kobbekaduwa's agent.

The information also revealed that this document was being offered by the said persons as a device or contrivance with which free rice

and rations could be drawn from distributors when the said H. S. R. E. Kobbekaduwa of the SLFP was elected as President on 21st October 1982.

He (Mr. Abeywardene) was advised that the material set out constituted evidence of the violation of Section 81 (1) of the Presidential Elections Act No. 15 of 1981 read with Sections 77, 78, 79 and 80 of the Act.

He had in terms of Section 81 (3) of the Presidential Elections Act obtained the sanction of the Attorney-General for the institution of this prosecution.

The charges are:-

(1) That between the 17th day of September, 1982 and the 21st day of October, 1982 at Colombo and other places within the jurisdiction of this court Ahangama Vithanage Oswin Nandimithra Abeygunasekera and others did commit

a corrupt practice under Section 80 (1) of the Presidential Elections Act No. 15 of 1981, read with Section 77 of the said Act to wit: corruptly giving device or means to wit: documents purporting to be ration books issued under the Food Control Act No. 25 of 1950, to enable the procuring of provisions to electors for the purpose of corruptly influencing such persons to give their vote at the Presidential Election held on the 20th day of October, 1982, and the said corrupt practice was committed by your agents or by others with your knowledge or consent and that you being a candidate who was not elected as President at such election are thereby liable to be punished under Section 81 (1) of the Presidential Act.

(2) That at the time and place aforesaid and in the course of the same transaction the said Ahangama Vithanage Oswin Nandimitra Abeygunasekera and others did commit a corrupt practice under Section 80 (1) of the Presidential Elections Act, read with Section 79 of the said Act to wit: giving valuable consideration to wit: documents purporting to be ration books issued under the Food Control Act No. 25 of 1950 to electors in order to induce such electors to vote at the Presidential

Election held on the 20th day of October, 1982, and the said corrupt practice was committed by your agents or others with your knowledge or consent and that you being a candidate who was not elected as President at such election are thereby liable to be punished under Section 81 (1) of the Presidential Elections Act.

(3) That at the time and place aforesaid and in the course of the same transaction the said Ahangama Vithanage Oswin Nandimitra Abeygunasekera and others did commit a corrupt practice under Section 80 (1) of the Presidential Elections Act No. 15 of 1981, read with Section 78, of the said Act to wit: by fraudulent device or contrivance, namely documents purporting to be ration books issued under the Food Control Act, No. 25 of 1950 to electors in order to induce or prevail upon such electors to give their votes at the Presidential Election held on 20th day of October 1982, and the said corrupt practice was committed by your agents or others with your knowledge and consent and that you being a candidate who was not elected as President at the said election are thereby liable to be punished under Section 81 (1) of the Presidential Act.

EDITORIAL EXAMINES POLITICS, RELIGION

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 23 Nov 82 p 6

[Editorial: "Press, Politics and Religion"]

[Text]

The big story last week was the law enforcement authorities in Jaffna interrogating several Roman Catholic priests on suspicion of involvement in terrorist activities in the north. The arrest of the clergymen naturally made the headlines as it would have happened in any country where there are no shackles placed on newsreporters or the press as a whole. By reporting the arrest of the clergymen newsreporters were not passing judicial judgement over the suspects. They were attempting to report a subject of a very sensitive nature under trying conditions.

Now that most of the priests who were taken in for questioning have been released there is a better climate in which one can approach the matter. The sudden arrest of several young Catholic priests in Jaffna and the attendant publicity has without doubt caused considerable heartburn among the Catholics of the country. This is indicated in the statement issued by the Catholic Bishops Conference which said that while the bishops upheld the well known legal principle that any accused is deemed to be innocent until proved guilty they themselves dissociated from any attempts at violence or compliance with acts of violence.

The interrogation of the priests was part of the on-going investigation into terrorist activities in the north and what had obviously fuelled suspicion was that these priests had had large sums of money and it had been alleged that they had invested these monies in finance companies. The hypothesis put forward by the investigators is that this may have been the loot of the Neerveli bank robbery.

Another theory is that this might have been money sent by some foreign organisation for the rehabilitation of Tamil refugees, as was reported in 'The Island' last week.

A lot of publicity was generated over the questioning of the priests but that is in the nature of police investigations. Whether it is a case of robbery or murder or any other crime once police inquiries begin newspapers get interested in the story and overnight it shoots into the headlines. It is part of the function of a newspaper to keep track of an on-going investigation and it is a well known act that crime has a ready readership among the newspaper reading public. Not all the facts released to the press by the

police are proved to be correct in retrospect and this is why when a case which has attracted considerable interest comes to trial judges always caution juries not to be swayed by what they may have read in newspapers.

The only safeguard a newspaper can adopt in this situation is to exercise its own sense of discrimination when the subject is something sensitive like race or religion. But this depends on the degree of social responsibility of a newspaper and its awareness of newspaper ethics. It is to the credit of the Sri Lanka press that none of the major newspapers in this country could be accused of promoting racial and religious hatred.

In this context it may be rather myopic to blame any newspaper for reporting the facts as given to it by the investigators. One can hope for a speedy conclusion of the inquiries and that the facts could be established once and for all so that the cloud of uncertainty and suspicion hanging over the issue can be finally dissipated. But this is more easily said than done. The responsibilities entrusted to the police and army personnel in conducting such investigations will not be envied by any law enforcing officer. It is to the credit of these services that their investigations are being conducted in accordance with the law under very arduous conditions.

It is also heartening to know that the investigators were in contact with the Catholic hierarchy in the North while the priests were being questioned. But if on the other hand as suspected in some quarters any member of the clergy has been involved with any proscribed movement the law must take its course as the Catholic Bishops' Conference itself has pointed out.

That is why it is necessary that the authorities must go to the root of the whole affair. No interested parties should be allowed to make use of the issue to whip up any feelings against either the Catholic church or its clergy and conversely no one should be permitted to raise the opposite bogey of discrimination against Catholics or Tamils. These are ugly words but that is the reality of communal relations in the country and this is why the authorities must clear the air immediately.

CSO: 4200/153

## PRIORITY FOR COCO-OIL FUEL RESEARCH

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 10 Nov 82 p 1

[Text]

Thirty per cent coconut oil can be added to diesel without affecting the efficiency of the engine, asserts Dr. Ibasra Cruz, 49, the bespectacled Filipino originator of coco fame oil.

"We can add more than that; but this is the viable proportion of mixing", he said.

Dr. Cruz who is attending the first international producer gas conference at the Marga Institute, heads the Philippines' Energy Research Development Centre that has done considerable research in alternative energy sources.

He said his country had a planned program to reduce the import of petroleum by increasing the use of locally available sources. "Naturally our priority is coconut. We are the biggest coconut producers in the world," he said.

With the world market prices of coconut oil and fibre depressed to uneconomic levels, it was natural for Dr. Cruz to turn his research tools to coconut oil and coconut husk.

"We experimented with coconut oil. We mixed it in various percentages with diesel and found it mixed well. As a start we are now

mixing five per cent coconut oil. We can increase this percentage if we want. That depends on the world price of coconut oil and the excess production we have", he explained.

The second approach of the Philippines is to make use of coconut shell charcoal and coconut husk in gasifiers. Currently about 1,000 coconut-shell gasifiers are in use there mostly in farms and in the fishing industry.

Coconut shells are burnt in gasifiers in limited amounts of air to produce carbon monoxide and hydrogen which after purification is used to power diesel engines.

"We are now experimenting with coconut husk as the coconut fibre industry is in difficulty. Some problems have to be solved before husk gasifiers are used" he said.

The third approach in the Philippines is to have fuel wood plantations and use their produce in small thermal power stations. "We are planning small power stations of two to three megawatts" Dr. Cruz said. A fuel wood plantation of 12,000 hectares is needed for each power station.

## TRINCOMOLY OIL STORAGE INQUIRIES

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 10 Nov 82 p 1

[Text]

Singapore National Oil Company (SNOC) and Dutch oil terminal operator, Paktank Europe, are discussing plans to build a multi-million dollar terminal on Pulau Busing in the Southern Islands chain.

When finalised, the giant oil storage terminal will be the second such project in the Republic, a report in the 'Straits Times' of October 29, 1982 states.

Commenting on these developments in Singapore, Mr. Daham Wimalasena, Chairman of the Ceylon Petroleum Corporation (CPC) said yesterday that it was unlikely that

the government will decide on the Trincomalee oil storage facility before January 1983.

He said a tender board with Cabinet Secretary, G. V. P. Samarasinghe as chairman and secretaries to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Trade and Shipping are now evaluating the six offers that were made by foreign organisations for setting up a oil storage facility at Trincomalee.

"All relevant and vital aspects of the offers would be looked into before the tender is awarded", Mr. Wimalasena said.

CSO: 4200/152



BAD NEWS ON TEA CROP

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 22 Nov 82 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text]

The news from the *thottams* is again depressing. There was a crop loss of 1.9 million kilos last month compared with the previous October, and the cumulative loss in the country's tea production for the first ten months of this year is a sizeable 21.8 million kilos.

Admittedly, part of this production decline was due to a drought-hit first quarter. But even after the rains arrived, the harvest has continued to be less than what it was in 1981. The crop loss in September, after the rains had set in, was as much as the decline last month.

Fortunately for the economy, prices have been buoyant this year thanks to strong Iraqi buying at the Colombo tea sales. This had helped tea producers, including Sri Lanka, to gain on the price roundabouts what it had lost in the production swings.

There are some in the trade who would simplistically multiply this year's crop loss with the gross tea sale average, coming up with a figure big enough to build a Mahaveli dam. That is hardly an accurate reading. The currently cheerful price picture has been possible because there has been a global shortfall of production that had helped boost prices.

According to the latest available tea trade statistics, the global decline in production runs at around 35 million kilos at present. Figures from China, today one of the world's big tea producers, are not freely available; but this total, embracing the other major producers in Asia and Africa, is an accurate enough reflection of the condition of tea production worldwide. That has clearly contributed to the better prices.

What are the reasons that have kept Sri

Lanka's tea production at unacceptable low levels while competitors have forged ahead? It wasn't very long ago that Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel told the Colombo Tea Traders' Association that Sri Lanka, which had produced 207 million kilos of tea in 1961, had reached a production of just 210 million kilos last year.

He rightly described this stagnation as a 'virtual decline'. India's production had moved up over 60 per cent in the two decades since the sixties without any substantial increase in the planted acreage.

Kenya, which had produced 760 kilos per hectare in 1960, averaged a crop of 1,500 kilos per hectare twenty years later. India, too, made similar gains. We, unfortunately, have remained moribund.

Today the two big state agencies, the Janatha Estates Development Board (JEDB) and the State Plantations Corporation (SPC) control about 80 per cent of the country's tea production. Their estates cover 60 per cent of the tea acreage. According to the unaudited accounts of both corporations for last year, they had both dropped money largely due to the very high interest burdens they had to carry.

There is merit in the argument that the tea industry is too heavily taxed. But, as the Treasury asks, what else is there to tax? The Finance Minister has gone on record saying that an official committee had said in 1960 that the tea companies of the time paid as much as 88 per cent of their surpluses into state revenues by way of a variety of taxes, leaving about 9 per cent for payment as dividends to shareholders, and less than 3 per cent for capital investment.

The government is pumping what resources it could into the tea industry. Re-planting subsidies here, according to the Finance Minister, is higher than in both India and Kenya. The World Bank assisted tea rehabilitation projects are on the stream.

Yet, we continue to lose crop even when the weather is right. We have got to find out where we are going wrong, and apply the remedial measures as quickly as possible.

Thankfully, one of the good things about our tea industry is that its information systems are the best available in any sector in the country. When crop is lost, the bad news is quickly available. Let us hope that the remedies are applied as quickly.

# EDITORIAL REVIEWS DIPLOMATIC MISSION FREEZE

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 20 Nov 82 p 6

[Editorial]

[Text] There would have surely been some raised eyebrows, not only in the chanceries of the various diplomatic missions in Colombo but also among interested members of the public, about the foreign ministry decision this week that the missions must not raise present levels of diplomatic and other staff.

The only explanation for this 'freeze' that has been officially forthcoming was Mr. Tyrone Fernando's remark quoted in the *'Daily News'* that the decision had been taken "in the interests of everybody concerned".

Obviously, there must be reason enough for the decision; and, although the foreign ministry has not said so in so many words, there must be a clear feeling within the Government that some of the countries that maintain diplomatic missions here carry staff in excess of what is judged to be their reasonable requirements.

Thus, the foreign office, without ruffling anybody's feathers, has put out a general directive asking all missions not to increase the number of foreign personnel in their employ.

Some time ago, the foreign office indicated a degree of unhappiness about the many 'friendship associations' that some countries with diplomatic representation in Colombo formed. Nobody would dispute the need to control such activity, although no allegation of

actual subversion by any foreign power was made.

Right now, the police are investigating what the Government has described as an effort by some political elements to unleash a wave of violence if the presidential election result went another way.

There have been allegations made about some foreign interest in domestic political affairs in this country, and most Lankans will remember being treated to the story--related in parliament--that money-bags were unloaded from the boot of a car at a residence in Colombo's plush Cinnamon Gardens area one dark night recently. The only illumination for this operation, MPs were told, was the tail-light of the car that brought the cash!

It appears absurd that any foreign mission, in a small country like this, should carry scores of diplomatic and other foreign staff. It may be useful for Colombo to think in terms of a ceiling that must be applied on the number of foreigners working at any embassy.

In these circumstances, and in the light of the on-going inquiry, the foreign ministry has acted in the best possible way to ensure controls without making accusations that could endanger the foreign relations of a country that values its non-aligned policy.

CSO: 4200/152

## BRIEFS

**SLFP SECRETARY ARRESTED**--SLFP Secretary Ratnasiri Wickramanayake has been taken to custody by the CID in connection with the current investigation into certain incidents connected with the presidential election and thereafter. He is being held by the army in Colombo. [Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 13 Nov 82 p 1]

**TULF MPS READY TO RESIGN**--All TULF MPs yesterday gave their parliamentary group leader an undated joint letter of resignation from parliament to be handed to the secretary-general of parliament if the government wins the referendum. Mr. A. Amirthalingam, who holds the letter, said it states that the TULF MPs were elected to parliament for a period of six years on July 22, 1977, and their period ends on July 22, 1983. They did not wish to continue in parliament at the end of that period. "We will send in our resignation letter at the appropriate time if the government wins the referendum," he said. He said the party will hold meetings to explain their stand. "We will do so independently. We will not join the other opposition parties", he added. [Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 13 Nov 82 p 1]

**PRIEST AND BROTHER ARRESTED**--The Jaffna Police on Sunday night took into custody Rev. Jega Sunderaj, a Methodist priest and his brother, a doctor at the Puttur hospital, following the investigation of Northern Terrorists. They are being kept at the Gurunagar Army Camp. Meanwhile, with the arrest of Mr. T. Nithyananda, a lecturer at the Jaffna University, and his wife, on Saturday, Jaffna Police suspect that many more campus teachers are involved in the northern terrorist movement. Many of the terrorists captured so far and those on the wanted list are supposed to have connections with the student movement in Jaffna University. Security in the North has been further strengthened after a tip-off that the injured terrorists in the Chavakachcheri Police shoot-out are still in hiding. This move is to prevent them from slipping across the Palk Strait to South India. [Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 22 Nov 82 p 6]

**THREE-YEAR DROUGHT ENDING**--The severe drought experienced islandwide during the past three years is now easing, according to reports from the Meteorological Department. "Due to some major circulation anomaly, the winds that blew in were dry and not the usual moist Easterly winds from the Pacific region", said Director--Meteorological Department, Mr. R. Mahadeva. "This year, however, we had an excellent monsoon and very good rainfall. Almost all parts of the country now experiences rainfall", he added. Department officials

claim that this was the worst drought ever experienced in the country. They were, however, confident that with the positive changes in the weather patterns, there would not be another like it. The North-Eastern monsoon which begins in early December and continues till late January is expected to ease the present situation in many of the drought stricken districts. [Colombo THE ISLAND in English 20 Nov 82 p 2]

GUARD ROOMS IN JAFFNA POLICE STATIONS--Police stations in Jaffna are being strengthened with the setting up of guard rooms manned by armed policemen to provide a frontline protection against sudden attack by terrorists. This move has been taken on the initiative of Deputy Inspector-General of Police, Northern Range, Mr. A. W. Rajaguru. In addition, every visitor to a police station will be required to produce identification before he is permitted to make a complaint or contact the officer he wishes to meet. [Colombo THE ISLAND in English 20 Nov 82 p 3]

DROUGHT RELIEF FOR TWO MILLION PEOPLE--Almost two million people in eighteen drought-stricken districts receive drought relief from the government. This relief, which comes in the form of special food stamps and cash amounts to almost 29 million rupees each month. Since October, the Ministry of Social Services provides only flour on the special food stamps. Earlier, both flour and rice could have been obtained. The Ministry received a consignment of 15,000 metric tons of flour last month for this purpose, from the E.E.C. Officials claim that the drought which had been going on for the past three years was the worst this country had experienced during this century. Meanwhile, regular visits are made to the stricken districts by Ministry officials who are hopeful that the prevailing conditions will ease by February next year. The present drought relief will continue till December. [Colombo THE ISLAND in English 20 Nov 82 p 3]

VIJAY HELD AT MILITARY HOSPITAL--Mr. Vijaya Kumaranatunge, film actor was yesterday taken into custody by the CID. He was removed to the Military Hospital in Colombo when he complained to the Police and Army men who came to take him into custody that he was sick. Later Mrs. Bandaranaike told a press conference that he had been recuperating at home after he had been taken ill at a party meeting on Thursday and was given an ECG. Eye-witnesses said that shortly after 2 p.m. about two army trucks and over 10 CID cars had come to Rosmead Place. They had searched the house for about an hour. When Mr. Kumaranatunge had complained of being ill they had offered to take him in an ambulance but he had left in his own car in the company of the Police. Mrs. Bandaranaike told the press conference Mr. Kumaranatunge who had been questioned about four times by the CID on the fourth floor had been taken in on an order of the Additional Secretary to the Defence Ministry Gen. Sepala Attygalle. [Colombo THE ISLAND in English 20 Nov 82 p 1]

MILITARY VOLUNTEERS MOBILIZED--Personnel from four volunteer units of the Sri Lanka Army were mobilised last Wednesday by President J. R. Jayewardene on a special proclamation. The proclamation, which had been gazetted on the same day, states that the units are being called out for the prevention and suppression of any civil disturbances in Sri Lanka. The units which have been mobilised are the 2 Regiment Sri Lanka Signal Corps, Sri Lanka Army Ordinance

Corps, Sri Lanka Electrical and Mechanical Engineers and the Sri Lanka Army General Services Corps. [Colombo SUN in English 13 Nov 82 p 1]

PRIEST IMPLICATED IN BANK ROBBERY--Security Forces yesterday searched the living quarters of the Catholic priests taken into custody and then took them to the security headquarters to complete inquiries and further investigations, Brigadier Ratnatunga Commander of the Northern Security Forces said yesterday. It was revealed during the investigations that one of the Catholic priests had received about one million rupees from the Neerveli People's Bank robbery. On further investigations it was also revealed that this priest had connections with the terrorists who attacked the Chavakachcheri police station killing three police officers and taking away some arms and ammunitions. Security forces have recovered only Rs. 166,000 so far while further investigations are being conducted. Meanwhile the security authorities are in close contact with Jaffna Bishop's House. One priest is in custody and the rest were released and have now returned to their parishes. [Colombo SUN in English 19 Nov 82 p 1]

CSO: 4200/154

COLUMNIST IS PESSIMISTIC ABOUT CGDK EFFECTIVENESS

Bangkok BAN MUANG in Thai 17 Oct 82 p 5

[Ta Mo Lo column: "How Sincere Is the United States About Helping Thailand Solve the Vietnamese Problem?"]

[Text] At present, news about the situation along the Kampuchean border and about the Vietnamese in Kampuchea has diminished.

The latest report comes from Air Chief Marshal Sitthi Sawetsila, the minister of foreign affairs who just returned from a trip to the United States. He has revealed that the Sihanouk government is receiving increased support from various countries.

The Khmer Rouge, under the (deceptive) leadership of President Sihanouk, has managed to maintain its seat in the United Nations for another term.

I think that this is just a temporary victory that people should not get very excited about.

The Kampuchean border problem and the matter of the Vietnamese in Kampuchea affect and are significant for the security and safety of Thailand, particularly Thai citizens living along the border there.

And this is having a very negative effect on our economy and on the standard of living of Thai citizens.

Besides this, we have to bear the burden of tens of thousands of Khmer refugees.

The success in preserving the U.N. seat of Kampuchea and the coalition government does not really help solve the problem for Thailand. The Vietnamese forces, which number 180,000 or even more, will probably remain in Kampuchea and continue attacking the Khmer Rouge and the free Khmer groups so that they cannot establish a position.

For a long time, they have threatened Thailand, saying that it would be easy to invade Thailand. And to show that they are serious, Vietnam has for a long time been sending forces across the border to stage "hit and run" attacks. This

has resulted in loss of life and property for Thais, which has been a painful "wound."

Vietnam occupied Kampuchea by force, but it complains when the United States gives military support to Thailand.

For example, during his recent trip to the United States where he met with State Department officials, the [Thai] minister of foreign affairs talked with U.S. officials about new military aid. The United States has agreed to loan \$12.3 million to purchase weapons. Vietnam has complained that the United States is creating tension in this region.

At present, Vietnam has 1,500 tanks as compared with Thailand's 324. Vietnam has 485 aircraft to Thailand's 179. Vietnam has an army of 1 million men as compared with Thailand's 160,000 men.

If anyone is creating tension, it is Vietnam, not Thailand. Thailand is adding to its stockpile of weapons only to defend itself.

And actually, this military aid given to Thailand by the United States is just a matter of "maintaining goodwill" with an ally of the United States. The United States is not really serious. This can be seen from the fact that the United States did not give the weapons to Thailand free but sold them to us by loaning us the money.

Vietnam is receiving both weapons and financial aid from the Soviet Union. It is receiving this aid free and in amounts sufficient to satisfy requirements.

The fact that the United States has not been serious in providing aid has resulted in Thailand being unable to solve the problems created by Vietnam in Kampuchea and it has lost "points" in the game with Vietnam. This is because Thailand does not have sufficient bargaining power to force Vietnam to come negotiate openly at the peace table.

Getting Vietnam to withdraw from Kampuchea by means of the game played in the United Nations is just a dream.

If Kampuchea is to return to a state of peace, the Kampuchea represented by the Sihanouk government will have to receive much more than political and moral support from the great powers. There must be a "peace line" dividing Kampuchea into eastern and western Kampuchea.

Each side must be allowed to compete in restoring their economies in place of the armed competition that is destroying the country. The 6 million Kampucheans, who are now only half alive, must be allowed to live in peace and to have food and a future.

It's not Kampuchea that wants to die. Rather it is because Vietnam has forced the two sides to take up arms against each other and it may reach the point where there really is no more Kampuchea.



## THAILAND

### CAUSES FOR LACK OF STUDENT POLITICAL ACTIVISM DISCUSSED

Bangkok KHAO CHATURAT in Thai 18 Oct 82 pp 32-34

[Article by Raphi Phongbuphakit: "Where Have the Students Disappeared to These Days?"]

[Excerpts] As for the student movement today, even those who are not interested in the various movements in the country know that, at present, there are no demonstrations or protests and no headlines about students. And concerning the "insiders," it is well known that almost none of the activists are left. It takes a full day to make just one poster. It isn't necessary to mention demands for justice.

At Thammasat, which has always been called the center of the student movement in the "Moral Light Party," which is a student party that has always been in the vanguard, there are presently no more than 10 real activists left.

"At the very first when there were always new problems and things were confusing, people constantly thought about changing this and changing that. But nothing improved, and things got even worse. Can you believe it! At least 10 seminars were held in order to solve the problems in the movement. Now, no one thinks about improving things. Even I live from day to day without will," said one of the members of the "Moral Light Party" after those who had come to participate in the 6 October ceremonies had left. "I do not want to blame others for not coming. They probably have personal reasons. This is the examination period too. Those who have returned from the jungle must be diligent because they must catch up. Also, they may be troubled by having had to leave the activities.

It may be true as he said that "they have personal reasons." The thousands of students who decided to join the armed struggle of the CPT were tossed here and there until they turned away from the party that has called itself the representative of the downtrodden. No one could escape facing the problems caused by the decision made in October 1976. Many people referred to themselves as "brokendown." Many went in alone...but three came out. Many had to study with people younger than they and be stared at as if they were being searched for something. Many were not able to study any longer because of family responsibilities.

"We want justice too. But we have to eat and live. If the basic factors are missing, what can we do?" said one former student who does not now refer to himself as a "leader" to Chaturat after he left the centralized system of the CPT. He was living in a small, cheap flat near the Anusawari [monument] with his wife and child. In the daytime, he went out to meet friends whom he was still in contact with in order to look for work.

"When I first left, I didn't feel very good. There were problems at home. Some of my relatives said that I had betrayed the country and degraded the family. But I didn't care. I went to live at Thammasat. Sometimes, when others looked at me I felt bad, even though they may not have been thinking about me," said a girl who likes to stay by herself on the fourth or fifth floor of the central library at Thammasat University to Chaturat at the end of last month.

At Ramkhamkaeng, after the "Moral Movement" Party won the studentbody elections, it concerned itself mainly with student benefits and with tutoring. It has not engaged in any political activities at Ramkhamhaeng. That is, whenever the 7-Faculties Student Party, which is a party that is involved in other student movements, has become involved in some activity, the Moral Movement Party has not gotten involved. And conversely, if the Moral Movement Party has gotten involved in political activities, the 7-Faculties Student Party has not gotten involved. Thus, in its role as a student organization, the Moral Movement Party has clearly followed a different path than have other student groups.

In particular, concerning arranging memorial services for the October heroes, which has been a main activity of student groups, the Moral Movement Party has taken no part in making arrangements.

"I don't think it is necessary to hold any grand ceremonies. We can simply feel things in our heart. It isn't necessary to have any bands or debates. We can make it a custom like Chakri Day or Chulalongkorn's Day. At the appropriate time, we can lay a wreath in memory of the heroes," said the head of the Ramkhamhaeng Student Association to Chaturat on the afternoon of 5 October. At the same time, the 7-Faculties Student Party, together with several dozen other groups, was busily making preparations for services to commemorate the October heroes. They prepared both cultural and academic activities and set up stages in two places. On the other hand, the student organization had only large pieces of paper on which were written the words "remember the brave heroes of October."

"Since they are acting like this, we know what they think of 14 October. This year, they did things very quietly. In the future, if we become weaker, people will forget 14 October," said the leader of the 7-Faculties Student Party. "14 October is a matter of great importance for those who love justice, but they have not shown any interest."

The position of the activists in the 7-Faculties Student Party is no different from that of those in the Moral Light Party at Thammasant and other institutions. "I constantly wonder why I am struggling. Others are not interested at all. I seem to be disliked by everyone. Sometimes I would like to criticize things too and give up all of this and just sit back and see what happens," said the same person resentfully. This caused his friends who share his ideals who were busily writing posters to lay down their art work and look at us sympathetically.

"I am resigned to things. It has even reached the point where people who left the jungle come and tell me that tutoring is better and that they are not interested in politics. I have been invited to speak to various groups to build up their morale. But I ...I cannot even save myself. Who will build up my morale? Look, I want those who once participated in the struggle to join in the struggle again. Do you remember how we used to sign songs, go out in the rain and go without food? Now, where have all those people gone. I am the only "rabid dog" left. At this point, tears filled his eyes. "Just wait and see. Only a few people will take part in the activities tomorrow. And they may have forgotten 14 October too."

It may well be just as this activist from the student party said. One small poster in front of the Ramkhamhaeng student association building appealed to students passing by to take an interest. One group of young men and women were looking at the pictures of the events of 6 October that the "Song Tho" group had posted there as if warning people to remember those events.

In this group were two girls, Et and Taem. Both are freshmen. "Looking at such things makes me afraid," said one of them to Chaturat when asked her feelings about these pictures. "People should not do such things to each other. But I don't think they should post such pictures. The relatives of these people might not approve. People cannot eat after seeing such things."

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CSO: 4207/21

## THAILAND

### MUSLIM LEADER REMAINS IN EXILE

Bangkok KHAO CHATURAT in Thai 18 Oct 82 pp 34-36

[Article by Pracha Thammanan: "Hajj Amin Tomina: Thais Have Abandoned the Land"]

[Text] Who would imagine that a Muslim leader like him would have to flee the country because of threats against his life. But that is exactly what happened to Hajj Amin Tomina, the former chairman of the Pattani Islamic Central Committee, who spent all of last year living abroad in order to escape these threats against him.

As for the Thai Muslims in Pattani, it seems that almost everyone knows Hajj Amin. His former position as the chairman of the provincial Islamic Central Committee is a good indication of the respect that the Moslems here have for him. The person who holds this position also serves as an advisor to government officials. But all of a sudden, at the end of 1980 and the beginning of 1981, unconfirmed reports were released by some government units in the south saying that he was one of the leaders of a bandit terrorist group known as the "Phathip" group. Following that, there were reports that his life had been threatened. And so in April 1981, Hajj Amin Tomina, age 52, decided to flee abroad. He fled to Singapore.

Before he left the country, an intelligence document from Civil-Police-Military [CPM] Unit 43, which is responsible for the five southern provinces, mentioned the terrorist problem caused by the bandit terrorists. It clearly stated that the new leader of the "Phathip" bandit terrorists was Mr Amin Tomina.

This report was later denied by the present commander of CPM Unit 43, Major General Panya Singsakda, who thinks that this was a mistake on the part of government officials. The things that took place are a good indication of how the officials in the area worked in that period and it cannot be denied that this was an important reason behind Hajj Amin's decision to go abroad.

In an "open letter" that Hajj Amin sent to Lieutenant General Han Linanon, the commanding general of the Fourth Army Area, on 25 February 1982 in order to explain things and ask for justice in this matter, he stated that the main

reason for his fleeing the country was that he could no longer bear the situation in which Muslim leaders were being killed, which had occurred frequently in the previous period. Besides this, he pointed out the insincerity of the officials in working to serve the people.

In one passage of this three-page letter, he mentioned the charges that had been made against him, that is, that he was the leader of the "Phathip" movement. He said that this was an attempt to create a situation in order to destroy him. Besides this, he pointed out the inefficiency of the government officials in investigating the reports, or intelligence, that they had received.

"This was an attempt to create problems. False reports were made about me. But the officials who received these reports did not investigate to learn the facts. This is a stupid way of working. It was a plan to destroy [me]. And some government units wanted to cause an incident in order to have something to do, with the hope of receiving money for their own personal profit. Thus, these false charges against me were printed in the press," said Hajj Amin in one part of the letter.

After the commander of CPM Unit 43, Major General Panya Singsakda, asked him to return to Thailand and guaranteed his safety, Hajj Amin replied in another letter sent in the middle of June:

"I am prepared to return if things are true as promised by Major General Panya. But I do not believe that this is so because there have been many examples in the past. Whenever something happens, the officials claim that it was the work of the terrorists when actually it was the work of those in uniform. My father was killed by government officials on 13 August 1964. His body was abandoned on Mu Island. This lesson was enough to convince me never to trust anyone."

Mr Den Tomina, his younger brother, expressed his views on this matter to Chaturat like a person who understands the problems that his brother is facing. He said that "my brother has clearly said that he wants to return. But if he is going to be threatened again after he returns, he would rather not return. What can government officials do to give him assurance? In my view, this is the important thing. A single promise is not enough since the lesson that I and my brother learned in the case of our father, whose killers were never caught, taught us never to trust anyone too quickly."

Mr Den, a Democrat MP from Pattani, mentioned the period prior to when his brother decided to flee abroad. He said that "at the end of 1980 and the beginning of 1981, rumors began to circulate that Amin was involved with the terrorist bandits. I did not understand how such things could be said. This was at the same time that he went to take part in the hadj to Mecca. It was charged that he had gone to attend a meeting to make plans to separate the country. After that, there were rumors that an assassination team had been formed to kill Amin. However, Amin returned home at the beginning of January 1981. After that, he made another trip and returned to his home in Pattani; this trip was witnessed by several officials from Supreme Command Headquarters. But in Pattani,

several irregularities convinced us that the rumors that we had heard about the formation of an assassination team were true. There were several things that confirmed this. Since this was the case, in April last year, Amin had to get out of Pattani in the interests of his own safety."

At present, local officials have made contact unofficially once again in order to get him to return. One official said that "we have been in contact with him. I believe that he will return because his view that no one wants to live away from his homeland is a good sign. We are trying to solve this problem but it takes time. And one day Mr Amin will come to have faith in the sincerity of the officials. In the past, our officials made mistakes. We have had to correct these mistakes to ensure that such mistakes are not made again. Our policy clearly calls for reducing the war factors, not creating war factors as was once done.

[Interview with] Major General Panya Singsakda, the Commander of CPM Unit 43

Chaturat: What is your view on Mr Amin fleeing the country in order to escape the threats made against him?

Panya: Concerning this, he was afraid that the dark powers would do the same thing to him that they had once done to his father (Hajj Surong). Mr Amin is a historical figure. He has witnessed the struggle by the Thai Muslims in the south ever since the time of Field Marshal Phibun. A man over 50 years old like Mr Amin has seen it all. But I would like to say that the policies of today are very different from those of the previous period. Mr Amin may have been frightened by the situation in the past and is now unable to understand our present policies. We will gradually reduce his fears and make him understand that our policy is to create prosperity for and protect the lives and property of the Moslems in the area. I view the matter of Mr Amin having to flee as a very worrisome matter, particularly since it involves a Thai who was in a position of leadership like he was. Hajj Amin is considered to be a leader because he was the chairman of the provincial Islamic Central Committee. If such a person cannot live in our country, our country's image will be tarnished. We must study this matter and prevent such a thing from happening again.

[Question] What is your view on the work done by officials in this area in the past? There were rumors that Mr Amin was a bandit terrorist leader. What are the facts about this? I would like to ask these questions since you are the commander of CPM Unit 43, which is directly responsible for the five southern border provinces.

[Answer] During the period in which rumors were spread to the effect that Mr Amin was involved with that movement, I cannot say for sure who was right and who was wrong. But it has to be admitted that there is a struggle and some people are sympathetic to this struggle. But what we must determine is whether the methods used in the past were correct or not. This is something that must be reviewed from the standpoint of the work done by our officials. Take Mr Amin's case, for example. It is possible that some groups used his

name for their own benefit without Mr Amin knowing it. They might have used his name without him knowing anything about it. The "Phathip" movement, of which it was said that he was the leader, used his name to cause turmoil. The reports that came out were all very confusing. As the commander, I am concerned about the reports of the officials. Our officials may have fallen into a trap set by someone who wanted to cause trouble. For example, some of the documents that have been captured have Mr Amin's name on them. Concerning the signature, sometimes people forget who is who. When they see the signature "Amin," they don't know which Amin this refers to.

[Question] How sure are you that Mr Amin will return? And if he returns and destructive rumors are spread about again, what will you do?

[Answer] I am sure that, concerning the past period, it can be said that there has never been a period in which our officials have been so sincere as they have in this past period, and this includes the activities that were carried out in accord with the policy that was announced. We have done things in accord with this policy. Nothing like this has ever been done before. First, there is the sincerity shown by the officials, which should give Mr Amin confidence. Second, if any more charges are made about this, I think that facts must be gathered to determine what the truth is. Our officials must have a firm foundation. They must have the data in hand in order to prove the charges. I am ready to treat him fairly in this matter. We want him to return so that he can help the officials develop the country. He is a capable person who is accepted [by the Thai Moslems]. He should return to help develop the country. Our country needs people like him.

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PM ADVISOR SUGGESTS DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT, EARLY ELECTIONS

Bangkok SIAM RAT in Thai 21 Oct 82 pp 1, 12

[Article: "Prem Advisor Suggests That Parliament Be Dissolved, Elections Advanced In Order to Use Old System"]

[Text] The Advisory Council to the Prime Minister is preparing to suggest to General Prem that he dissolve parliament in order to hold elections early. Their reason is that there is too much time left and that there is a backlog of legislation in parliament, which may lead to conflicts between parliament and the government if parliament is not dissolved in order to hold an election first. What is important is to use the old election system; if the system is changed, it should be changed by the new group of MPs.

Dr Wathanyu Na Thalang, the chairman of the Advisory Council to the Prime Minister, revealed in an interview with SIAM RAT that, at present, there is a strong trend toward dissolving parliament, especially among MPs. His reasons were: 1. When the present session of parliament ends, it really means that the government's term has effectively expired. The remaining several months of the term before the election is too long. Elections should be held quickly so that a new government can quickly take office to govern the country.

2. Because there is a great backlog of legislation in parliament, if an extraordinary session of parliament is convened, this may lead to conflicts between the government and the MPs, which could lead to parliament being dissolved in an improper way.

The chairman of the prime minister's advisory council said that, personally, he feels that dissolving parliament is a good way out that will help reduce the political tension in accord with the democratic system. This has been discussed by the advisory council and almost all on the council "feel the same." At present, the advisory council is gathering the reasons and views of the various factions in order to present them to General Prem Tinsulanon, the prime minister, for consideration.

However, dissolving parliament now will still allow elections to be held in accord with the system mentioned in the provisional articles of the constitution. That is, the original system in which zones are arranged by number will be



used since the present constitution stipulates that elections must be held within 90 days after parliament is dissolved. The provisional articles are still in effect. Concerning this, Dr Wathanyu said that using the old election system is not a step backward because this does not overturn the constitution. It is simply making use of the existing articles in the constitution. He also pointed out that there is widespread apprehension about the new election system that will have to be used once the provisional articles are no longer in effect. That is, there will be joint-zone, single-slate elections in accord with the political parties system. He feels that if we wait and hold such elections then, that is, after 22 April when the provisional articles have expired, this will amount to "starting from a new set of conditions" that may not be in accord with the current situation. Thus, he feels that it would be better to begin now from the present situation. If the election system must be changed, it should be changed during the term of the next parliament.

The chairman of the prime minister's advisory council pointed out that the people still like the political parties system and that the old election system is capable of promoting this system. And the people will still be free to elect [whom they want]. They will be able to elect party slates or individuals.

When asked why the government has not dissolved parliament, Dr Wathanyu said that, at present, the government wants to make sure that the majority of the people are in favor of dissolving parliament. The government wants to be sure about this. Even though there are many MPs who want to dissolve parliament now, it is felt that there are only a few MPs who dare to express their ideas fully. The government must remain neutral and must not say anything to persuade people one way or the other. The people must be the ones to decide based on their understanding in a democratic system.

The reporter asked: Since this is the case, when should parliament be dissolved? Dr Wathanyu said figuratively that "when it doesn't rain, there are no floods and the farmers do not have to worry. The majority of the people understand things well enough.

Some politicians expressed views on this matter yesterday. In his position as deputy leader of the Democrat Party, Mr Marut Bunnak, the minister of justice, said that, as a member of the cabinet, out of courtesy, he does not want to say anything. But from the standpoint of the party, the Democrat Party is ready regardless of what election laws are used.

Colonel Somkhit Sirisangkham, the leader of the Social Democracy Party, said that he does not believe that General Prem will dissolve parliament because his remaining in office depends on the military and the constitution. This is because it was the senators, who are soldiers, who drafted this constitution. Parliament will be dissolved only when the soldiers have a change of heart.

Mr Phiphop Asitirat, an MP from Bangkok and the deputy leader of the Thai Citizens' Party, said that he wants to have a separate-zone, ordered-number election. Otherwise, the people will be forced to elect a full slate of MPs,

some of whom might be good while others might be bad. The people will not have an opportunity to choose. But concerning dissolving parliament, this is up to the prime minister to decide.

Police Lieutenant Chaowarin Latthasaksiri, an MP from Ratchaburi, said that he is greatly opposed to dissolving parliament because this would serve personal interests more than the interests of the public. Holding the elections early is just giving in to the desires of some politicians. It would be better to use the time left before parliament's term expires to discuss the drafting of important legislation, of which there is now a great backlog.

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ABOLITION OF ANTI-COMMUNIST LAW URGED

Bangkok MATUPHUM in Thai 13 Oct 82 p 13

[Article by Chatchawan Chungchot: "The Anti-Communist Law, It Can't Be Repealed?"]

[Text] At present, there is much talk about government policies 66/1980 and 65/1982 as policies that have stipulated a correct strategy and method and that have achieved results in the struggle against the communists.

At the same time, there is more and more talk about repealing the Communist Activities Act in order to give [the CPT] an opportunity to carry on political activities openly and peacefully. This is being considered in order to put things in line with the idea of using democratic ideals to fight communist ideals since it is clear that dictatorship has been defeated by communism all over the world.

But repealing the anti-communist law is a very delicate matter for the government. Because even the army, which is an important force in stipulating or exerting pressure on policies in this sphere, is not unified ideologically.

This can be seen from the fact that the progressive soldiers feel that the anti-communist law should be repealed while other high-ranking officers such as General Rien Ditthabanchong, the chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, feel that it is still necessary to have an anti-communist law.

Things should be analyzed clearly to determine which view is more significant and is more in line with the real situation.

As for the views of those who want the anti-communist law repealed, their reasons can be summarized as follows:

1. Based on democratic ideals, people have the right to think about, believe in and hold any political rights they want as long as they do not do anything that disrupts the peace and order of the people.
2. The anti-communist law gives much power to the government officials. There have been instances in which bad officials have used this law to oppress and persecute innocent people. This has forced many people to have to flee into

the jungle and join the CPT. Or even if they haven't fled into the jungle, they have opposed the government and tended to support the enemy.

3. Having such a law is a factor that helps the CPT spread propaganda to the effect that the government has and constantly uses dictatorial power.

4. There are already articles that prohibit people from causing disturbances, carrying out acts of terrorism or doing anything else that affects national security in the criminal code and in other acts that deal with criminal offenses. Thus, it is not necessary to have a special act for such cases.

5. In the struggle to suppress the communists, in actual practice, political and military measures are used mainly. This law is used very little. Thus, having such a law does nothing but preserve the symbol and image of dictatorship.

As for those who feel that it is still necessary to have an anti-communist law, their reason is that communism, or the formation of a communist party, violates the constitution. This is because this ideology opposes Thailand's main institutions, that is, the nation, religion and the monarchy.

The reasons given by those who want to repeal the anti-communist law are quite clear and they are reasons that no one has been able to counter very well. And it seems that this view is gaining greater acceptance all the time.

As for the reasons of those who feel that having a communist activities act is still necessary, various criticisms have been leveled against them, for example:

First, is communism, or the communist party, really an enemy of the "nation?"

Generally, the meaning of "nation" is a community of people, in a single country, who are related racially and/or culturally and who live together under the same economic, social and political system. From this point of view, logically, supposing that our ruling ideology is communism, we will still be a "nation" just as before. The "nation" will not have been destroyed. This is the same as in many countries in the world. When the communist party took state power, the country was still a "nation" like before.

Second, will communism really destroy religion?

To answer this question in a scholarly, or theoretical way, the communists believe that religion, in the sense of there being a lord or god who is superior to man, is a psychological rather than a scientific matter. And some elements are just foolish.

Thus, communist principles do not support or promote religion, if religion is thought of in this sense. But the communists do admit that all religions try to teach people to act properly using psychological processes. Communists believe that when an economic and political system is established in accord

with their ideals, all people will act properly and no one will oppress others and, therefore, it will not be necessary to have religion.

In practice, in the largest communist countries in the world, that is, the Soviet Union and China, there is still religion and there are still many monks and priests and temples of various creeds. And freedom of religion is a principle guaranteed in their constitutions. This is because the communists realize that forbidding freedom of thought and belief goes against nature. Furthermore, if the religion has scientific and philosophical qualities such as does Buddhism, those who study and understand the essence of Buddhism will not fear the communists. Because they have seen the truth. Even without a temple, a Buddha image or any other religious symbol, they are still followers who constantly practice the Buddha's way.

It can be said that the Buddha taught people to be generous and not to be greedy. He taught that people should not oppress each other, and he opposed the caste (class) system, which was very strong in India at that time. This is not too different from the basic principles of the communists.

The only difference is that Buddhism is "lokutara," which is much more profound and cannot be compared with communism.

This truth is an answer to the question of whether the communists can destroy religion.

Third, will the monarchy be affected or challenged by the communists?

First of all, it must be understood that even if the anti-communist law is repealed, no one can violate the constitutional provision that places the monarchy in a position of respect. Also, the provision in the criminal code on lese majesty will be retained; it will not be repealed. Thus, if a person violates these provisions or commits lese majesty, he will be guilty of a criminal offense and will be punished in accord with the law.

Those who oppose the repeal of the anti-communist law, or the formation of a legal communist party, do so partly because of the mistaken idea that, since the communists want to destroy the class [structure], the monarchy and the symbols of the class structure will be destroyed too.

Actually, it must be admitted that the ideas of those who oppose this are partly correct. Because those extreme leftists who call themselves Marxists-Leninists and Maoists, who have greater readiness and who are referred to as "childish leftists," "naive leftists" or "dogmatists," may really have such ideas.

But studying the ideas or theoretical understanding of the really intelligent leftists, whose ideas have appeared in both legal and underground documents that were disseminated in the past, it can be seen that the destruction of the classes does not mean killing the landowners or capitalists. What it actually

refers to is creating an economic system that is free from oppression, a result of which would be that there would no longer be an exploitive class or an exploited class.

But experienced communists in both Russia and China say that such a system is a long-term target far in the future. At present, not one country has advanced to the stage of having a real communist society.

Besides this, one important tactical principle of the communists is to hold fast to the masses and to stand firm with the masses. Actions counter to the interests or needs of the masses are considered to be a violation of this basic principle.

At present, Thais in general are aware of the generosity and compassion of their king. They revere and are very loyal to the king. The relationship between the monarchy and the Thai people is of a special quality. The position of the monarchy here is completely different from that of the czar and emperor in Russia and China before the revolutions in those countries.

Thus, even if the anti-communist law is repealed, if some communist is stupid enough to take liberties against the people's king, we can close our eyes and imagine what disaster would befall that person.

In short, the answer to the question of whether allowing a communist party to be formed legally will generate hostility against the nation, religion and monarchy is "no."

And if it turns out that they want to be enemies, there is no way that they can do anything since the majority of the people would oppose them and, in the end, they would defeat themselves.

Now there is just one more important problem and that concerns the frequent statement that communism wants to establish a "dictatorship of the proletariat," which is opposed to democratic ideals.

Concerning this, we must listen to some of the things said by Marxist-Leninist theorists. They claim confidently that their system is truly democratic. They feel that democracy is really a dictatorship of the majority.

They feel that the proletariat, or workers (that is, the laborers and farmers) forms the majority in a country. These people have constantly been exploited economically and have never had a chance to exploit others.

Thus, to eliminate oppression, the laborers and farmers must play a greater role than other classes in stipulating policies and goals in using state power.

Furthermore, they claim that what is called the "dictatorship of the proletariat" refers to real democracy (of the majority). They feel that democracy like that found in the West is really democracy of the capitalist class.

Since "democracy" has such diverse meanings, it should be the legal right of the people to learn about these various types so that they can choose the one they want.

It is known that Japan has been a democratic country for many years. They have several national institutions very similar to ours, including an emperor who is the head of the nation. At the same time, they have a legal communist party that is politically active. It has an office, from which flutters a red flag, in the middle of Tokyo.

But compared to the size of the total population, only a handful of Japanese pay any attention to this political party.

There are legal communist parties in almost all of the Western democracies. These parties are politically active in the parliamentary system. In some periods, they have won a fairly large number of seats while in other periods they have suffered major defeats. This depends on the economic and political situation in each period.

I have cited these countries as examples in order to show that whether or not a country becomes communist does not depend on whether or not it has an anti-communist law. Rather, this depends on the economic and political situation in that country.

Since it is not the laws that will decide or change things, why should we keep such laws, which allows them to brand [the system] a dictatorship, which is the same as allowing them to launch a political offensive?

Isn't it said that we are the ones who are on the offensive?

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CSO: 4207/18

EDITORIAL ARGUES AGAINST REPEAL OF ANTI-COMMUNIST LAW

Bangkok PATINYA in Thai 18 Oct 82 p 1

[Editorial: "Repeal the Anti-Communist Act--Let's Not Be Fooled By Our Own Propaganda"]

[Text] Offenseve operations were launched against the CPT after the serious international split between th Chinese-faction and Soviet-faction communists occurred. This split in 1978 caused a serious conflict within the CPT and many communists have surrendered. The data that was obtained allowed the government to stipulate Order 66/1980, which is considered to be the first piece of government propaganda. This was followed by a nationwide military offensive, which lasted from August 1980 until it was announced in October 1981 that the "war is almost over." In May 1982, the military announced that the "CPT has lost the revolution-ary war." In August 1982, it was announced that those who surrendered would have their rights and freedoms assured and Order 65/1982 was issued. And then in September 1982, a conference was held to evaluate the effects of these two orders. These are all things that the government considers to be a political offensive that will completely destroy the morale of the CPT. In practice, the government has no way of evaluating things to determine whether the CPT is losing its morale or whether it will lay down its arms. The only people the government can obtain information from are those who have surrendered, among which are some high-ranking members of the communist party.

Some of the past activities of the government have scored very good results, that is, the CPT has been forced to gather together its armed forces and revert to guerrilla tactics again. However, the results of the political offensive cannot yet be evaluated, except that the government has unilaterally announced that it has won.

But what is very worrisome is that, in a war whose outcome is still in doubt, the government is acting as if it is going to destroy its own "fortress" by believing its own propaganda. [It is talking about] repealing the anti-communist act without having any other law to guarantee national security.

PATINYA has presented the views of Professor Prasoet Sapsunthon, who is the person who has constantly proposed that the anti-communist act be repealed. We have done this so that readers can learn the good points of repealing this



act in the view of Professor Prasoet. At the same time, Mr Somchai Chotikhut, the editor of PATINYA who once did a study on communist terrorism, has taken this opportunity to express his personal views on repealing the anti-communist act. His views are not necessarily all correct. But it is thought that more than 90 percent of the people want the country to prosper in accord with the democratic path. But democracy will not be secure enough to defeat the CPT just by issuing an order to repeal this law or by promulgating a new law. [Security] must stem from a change in the political and economic structure and from a change in social values so that the people play a real role. This is the only sure way to defeat the CPT.

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CSO: 4207/21

THAILAND

COLUMNIST URGES PRK ROLE IN NEGOTIATIONS ON KAMPUCHEA

Bangkok MATUPHUM in Thai 18 Oct 82 p 9

[Article by Asawin Aphaiwong: "The Only Way Out Still Left On the Kampuchean Problem"]

[Text] "There is no other way except to negotiate a settlement."

This statement was made by Mr Perez de Cuellar, the secretary-general of the United Nations, about the problems in Southeast Asia. He also said that solving the problems militarily will make it impossible for the people to lead normal lives.

Actually, this is the way things should have been for a long time.

But for some reason, during the past 3 years, no progress has been made in solving the Kampuchean problem even though the United Nations has urged that all sides act in accord with the U.N. Charter.

The problem now is that the invaders still occupy the country with complete indifference. The people of the country and the various countries that are members of the United Nations have lost face.

As for the government that has been recognized, it is still hiding in the jungle and outside the country. The people of the country are not able to lead normal lives except along the border and in neighboring countries, which has created serious problems for these countries.

To solve the Kampuchean problem, there must be understanding about "what is really what." And as the secretary-general said, it will never be possible to solve the problem using military means.

And it is believed that he has begun to see the problems and to understand his problem, that is, the United Nations, and the real problems that have arisen in Kampuchea.

Mr Perez de Cuellar knows that the United Nations is just a paper tiger that cannot force a country, like Vietnam, that does something wrong to change course and follow the U.N. Charter. At least, the last 3 years have proven what things are like.

The United Nations must realize that it cannot make any decisions or issue any orders if the sides involved are unwilling. But what the United Nations can and must do is to remain neutral.

If a committee is formed to solve the Kampuchean problem, there will definitely be negotiations like those mentioned by Mr Perez de Cuellar.

Now, after looking to see which sides are involved in the Kampuchean problem, the committee should get the two sides involved to sit down at the negotiating table.

The first side is the Heng Samrin-Vietnamese group.

One basic truth must be admitted and that is that the Heng Samrin government is the government that controls Kampuchea, even if Vietnamese forces are providing support.

We cannot refuse to let Vietnam participate in the negotiations because, in fact, the Heng Samrin government is just the puppet of the Vietnamese. If we allow only the puppet to participate in the conference, it will certainly be impossible to solve the problem.

Another thing is that, if we want to reach our goals in the negotiations in order to get Vietnam to withdraw its forces from Kampuchea, Vietnam is the only one who can give a clear answer.

And in the end, it must be admitted that the Vietnam-Heng Samrin side has won militarily.

The other side is the Khmer coalition government, which is composed of several factions, including both communist and non-communist factions. This side has been recognized by the world community as the legal government of Kampuchea in accord with the U.N. resolution.

Even though they have not won militarily, this side has won a resounding political victory.

If the committee can get the two sides -- one of which has won militarily while the other has won politically -- to negotiate with each other, it may be possible to solve the problem in Kampuchea.

As for Asean and Indochina, it is not necessary for these groups to get involved in the matter. This will only cause the problem to spread instead of confining the problem to Kampuchea as it should be.

## LEADERS OF 1973 UPRISING PROFILED

Bangkok MATUPHUM in Thai 14 Oct 82 p 2

[Article: "9 Years On 14 October"]

[Excerpts] The events on 14-15 October 1973 ushered in the greatest change in the political history of Thailand since the administrative change of 1932. The difference in these two events is that, in the events of 1932, the group that seized administrative power ruled the country itself. But concerning the appeals made by the students on 14 October 1973 for a constitution to govern the country and for power to be transferred from a single family and its followers to the people, those making the appeals were not seeking any administrative position or power.

Concerning the movement of these forces, it was the students who were the excited and forceful vanguard until the bloody events of 6 October 1976 broke out in the Pho courtyard at Thammasat University while students were making preparations to commemorate 14 October. Those with bad intentions brought back the dictators who had been driven out in 1973. The sad thing that happened was that the movement by the students and people was crushed by the armed groups.

Now, on 14 October 1982, everything is quiet from the university to the middle of Sanam Luang. On this ninth anniversary of 14 October, we remember the 73 heroes who lost their lives. We also remember the many others who were crippled and maimed.

As for the 13 rebels whose arrest led to the events of 14 October, the following are short profiles and some remarks made by them on the 9 years following the events of 14 October.

1. Thirayut Bunmee, the former secretary-general of the Student Center of Thailand, was like many of the other young people. When he became disappointed and was threatened politically after the events of 6 October 1976, he fled into the jungle and worked for the Coordinating Committee for Patriotic and Democratic Forces (CCPDF). He was in the jungle about 4-5 years before a political conflict arose in the jungle. He thus returned with his wife and child and

settled in the city around the beginning of 1981. At present, he is working on his master's degree in history at the well-known Social Research Institute at The Hague in the Netherlands.

2. Wisa Khanthap, a philosopher, writer and poet, has now joined with a filmmaker to make a film, entitled "The Rural Teacher Flies an Aircraft." And he is writing songs for musicians who are "friends" and for others. Wisa is like the other patriotic and democratic youths. Even though he does not have any chance to engage in politics now, Wisa says that being in motion pictures, or amusement, circles gives him a chance to serve society. Ever since 14 October, he has wanted to see Thai society take a good course.

3. Pridi Bunchu returned from the jungle to the city like others. He went to live in Sweden for a period. At present, he is engaged in several research projects. One important project is a book on the life and work of a man of the same name, that is, Pridi Phanomyong, an elder statesman.

Concerning the events of 9 years ago, Pridi said that the forces of students and people that day were pure. This was a movement carried on by youths who were inexperienced but who had good goals and principles. "Today, I still feel that what I did was good and right."

4. Nophon Suwannaphanit is now the director of the Oral English Training Center and the Computer-Aided Instruction Institute. Many people have come to him for instruction but he refuses to teach anyone personally since he is the director. But he is giving private instruction in English to one well-known young minister.

5. Bunsong Chaloet has taken political refuge in Sweden. He is a philosopher and writer whose goal is to become a newspaper correspondent. There are rumors that he will soon return to Thailand. It isn't necessary to guess what he thinks about democracy in Thailand.

6. Kongkiet Khongkha is a sophomore at Ramkhamhaeng University in the Faculty of Political Science. Occasionally, he leaves Uthai Thani to take an examination at the university. He is preparing himself to be a scholar. He is still confident that he will be able to serve society as a scholar or in some other profession.

7. Banthoet Ennilarat disappeared on 6 October 1976. There were later reports that he took political refuge in Sweden as did Bunsong.

8. Montri Chungsiriarat works for the Graphic Arts Press. He wants to live quietly. Even though there has not been any social or political news about him, he has not forgotten that the pure and well-intentioned energy of 14 October must be passed on to future generations.

9. Chaiyawat Surawichai, a young engineer from Chulalongkorn University, has led an exciting life like the other youths following the events of 6 October. At present, he is free and open. He works as an engineer for a road construction company. He still loves democracy and is in the vanguard for what is right.

10. Thawi Munnikon is a professor in the Faculty of Economics, Thammasat University, who fled and took political refugee in Japan after the events of 6 October. He remained there a long time.

Thawi said that "those are unforgettable events. It must be admitted that those who took part that day included naive people, onlookers and people who loved democracy and who wanted to drive out the dictators. High-ranking people are trying to get us to forget because they don't want such a thing to happen again. I am not sure whether there will be dictatorship again or not. At present, the military has definite goals. It has raised the banner of democracy to eliminate oppression and make more progress than was made on 14 October. But we professors and students are not sitting by idly. This is a time for us to study. We must take a little more time.

11. Thanya Chunchada lives quietly with his wife and son. He is trying to revive the Wannakam Phua Chiwit Press. It publishes literary works of benefit to Thai society.

12. Praphansak Kamonphet is a politician who has been honest his whole life. In parliament, you can see Praphansak listening to the important debates. He never misses a meeting. In the Coffee Council, he discusses the country's problems together with his friends. At present, he is still undecided about whether to run for MP in his home province of Chainat or in Bangkok. Because a joint-zone, single-slate election will make things difficult for a small party or a single individual, unless he is wealthy.

13. Khaisaeng Suksai, the former deputy chairman of the Socialist Party of Thailand who made news the first time when he left China and came to Thailand, has praised policies 65/1982 and 66/1980. He feels that these will create national unity. He has offered his services and is ready to do anything in order to unify the people in the country.

Most recently, he said that the events of 14 October happened because of the purity of the students and people; this was not the work of the CPT, the Chinese Communist Party or any political party. Thus, the intentions behind the events of 14 October must be passed on to future generations. And those living in the country today should remember those heroes because they sacrificed their lives to build a well from which the people of today can drink.

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CSO: 4207/18

UPRISING OF 1973 HAILED FOR EFFECT ON DEMOCRACY

Editorial Comment

Bangkok MATUPHUM in thai 14 Oct 82 p 4

[Editorial: "A Continuation of the Intentions Of 14 October 1973"]

[Text] Farewell to 1981. Since King Rama VII granted a constitution to Thailand in 1932, the constitution has been changed and revised many times.

And during times when the situation in the country has changed, temporary constitutions have had to be put into effect while waiting for a permanent constitution to be drafted.

Concerning this constantly changing situation, in conclusion, it can be said that in some periods there has been dictatorship and in others there has been false democracy. But regardless of whether the country has been administered by real dictators or false democrats, they have all said the same thing and that is that they subscribe to a democratic form of government.

The same was true for the period 1971 to 14 October 1973. Those in control cited the situation in order to grab administrative power. They rescinded the constitution that had taken so long to draft, dissolved parliament and announced the implementation of a temporary constitution.

But it turned out that the patriotic students and people who loved democracy could not wait for the constitution that those in power said they were drafting. Thus, they united to call on those in power to set a definite date for the promulgation of the constitution. What happened instead was that students and other people were jailed.

The great resentment felt by the students and people in general toward the dictators spread and became a mass movement that nothing could stop and so the great events of 14 October erupted.

Emptyhanded, the students and people were able to topple the dictators and miraculously throw them off the stage of history. This is an example for all the people in the world who are oppressed.

Even though that victory scored by the students and people was short-lived, it generated widespread patriotism and love for democracy among the Thai people and caused great fear and alarm among those who had oppressed the Thai people for so long.

The heroes of 14 October shed their blood and sacrificed their lives to bring real democracy to the country. But at present, we still do not have real democracy. It may be necessary for more people to shed their blood in order to obtain democracy. We are not afraid because we know that this is good. This is an honorable sacrifice, a very honorable sacrifice.

#### Columnist Views Developments

Bangkok MATUPHUM in Thai 14 Oct 82 p 4

[The "Hua Het" Reporter column]

[Text] Today is 14 October. The attempts by people to get others to forget this day just stimulates us to remember this day even more.

Remember what the objectives of the students and people were prior to the events that took place. Everyone of them just wanted Thailand to have a democratic constitution and so they joined together to ask the government to quickly draft a constitution. But instead, they were arrested and jailed.

When these students and others were arrested, the only thing that the students and people who had gathered together at Thammasat University wanted was the release of those who had been jailed. That is all.

But instead of the dictatorial government doing something to ease the situation, it made the situation even more tense by searching for various charges [to bring against those arrested].

The wave of discontent on the part of the students and people spread throughout the country. In the end, there was a confrontation between the students and people, who were emptyhanded, and the dictators, who were heavily armed.

The result was that the dictators were overthrown and the students and people had a chance to marvel over their freedom. Thailand, which was then being used as a military base by the United States, was soon able to free itself from having to serve as a military base. The farmers, who had once worked hard in their fields, now came to Bangkok to demand land to work, proposing that the "land should belong to those who work it." The unfair loan contracts that the farmers had made with the owners of the land were revised to make them more fair. As for the laborers, it was stipulated that they were to receive a fair minimum wage that was higher than before. And people were given welfare benefits that they had never received before.

But the victory won by the students and people on 14 October 1973 did not destroy the roots of dictatorship.



At first, it was thought that if the leading dictators were gone and a fairly democratic constitution was implemented, it would be possible to solve the country's problems. But things did not turn out like this. When the students took the lead as mentioned, their actions affected the interests of the original interest groups. The owners of the land and the people who made loans in the various regions began to make arrangements to have the farm leaders killed one by one.

The movement by the laborers to demand their newly-granted rights was thwarted. Laborers were imprisoned and killed one by one.

One by one, the students and people who had demonstrated for a new Thailand with real political, economic and cultural independence fell away. The mass media, which had once expressed great joy over the great victory won by the students and people, began to change its attitude. And finally, it began criticizing the role played by the students and people. Some newspapers repeatedly served the dictators.

And then followed the events of 6 October 1976. Those who want us to forget the wonderful role of the younger generation do not understand what happened; they do not understand history.

Some of these people had to find other jobs. They became wealthy and did not have a chance to gain power while the dictators had control over the country. But the struggle of the students on 14 October gave them a chance to raise their heads at the Government House, and they condemned the students.

Some people had no chance to advance in their government careers since they could not penetrate the tight fortress of the dictators. But when the students united and smashed this fortress, they killed the students and people whenever they had a chance.

No one can forget such painful events but no one is going to keep such bitterness inside to get revenge like a Hong Kong "Kung Fu" movie.

It must just be remembered as a great lesson. The lesson is that, if the students and people unite, no power can stop them. And certainly don't expect those groups whose interests will suffer to fight like gentlemen. Just the opposite, these reactionary groups will use all kinds of tricks and will be very ruthless.

If it were a terrible movie of violence, the audience would criticize the producer or director.

Today, we still do not have a real democracy. We have had only a very imperfect and even false democracy and real dictators have come one after another.

This means that the intentions of 14 October have not been fulfilled. But we have never become discouraged or given up hope. We believe that the goal will someday be reached. Because in the end, history is moving toward the victory of the people. No other course is possible.

## LINI TO OPEN PORTS TO SOVIETS

Canberra THE AUSTRALIAN in English 20 Oct 82 p 1

[Article by William Pinwill and Wio Joustra]

[Text]

THE Minister for Defence, Mr Sinclair, has called for an urgent report from his advisers on statements by the Prime Minister of Vanuatu, Father Walter Lini, that the South Pacific island State would throw open its ports to Soviet warships.

Government officials are privately concerned at Vanuatu's announced move towards a "non-aligned" status, but last night they were awaiting detailed reports of Father Lini's remarks to assess how serious his intentions are.

The Anglican leader of the former colony of the New Hebrides told reporters after the Commonwealth meeting in Suva that he would allow Soviet ships into Port Vila "like Australian or American warships".

He said his country was trying to be non-aligned.

Asked if he thought the American presence in the South Pacific was excessive, he said: "It is. I think it is true that we feel America is dominant in the South Pacific — much more than the Russians.

"Whether or not this is a detriment to the islanders remains to be seen."

Father Lini told reporters he would not allow either the Soviet Union or America to open a diplomatic mission in Vanuatu.

His statements about Soviet ships brought a quick disavowal from the Soviet Embassy in Canberra.

The embassy counsellor, Mr E.F. Rogov, said: "We will not be asking any country to allow our warships in. We are not

stepping up our military activities in the Pacific."

The ALP spokesman on foreign affairs, Mr Bowen, said he did not share Father Lini's view on visits by warships.

"As an independent State, Vanuatu will doubtless make its own decisions, but I hope that its policies will reflect the need to exclude superpower rivalry from the region and develop economic co-operation within it," he said.

One of Australia's foremost experts on Soviet military power, Mr Paul Dibb, said he doubted if the Russians had any important strategic interest in acquiring port access to Vanuatu now.

## Concern

But he emphasised that such an initiative would be of much greater concern to Australia than the present Soviet use of Cam Ranh Bay in Vietnam.

Mr Dibb, until recently the deputy director of the Defence Department's Joint Intelligence Organisation, said the Soviet Pacific fleet spent 90 per cent of its time in home waters and close to Japan.

"There has never been a transit by a Soviet surface warship in the South Pacific, and there is no reported detection of a submarine movement," he said.

Mr Dibb said the usual pattern of Soviet deployment would be to seek access for fishing vessels first, then hydrographic ships (some of which have significant intelligence-collection roles), and lastly warships.

# AID KEEPS VANUATU LOOKING WESTWARD

Canberra THE AUSTRALIAN in English 20 Oct 82 p 1

[Comment by William Pinwill]

[Text]

THROUGH the Defence Department, Australia has invested considerable money and goodwill in keeping Vanuatu in the Western camp.

After the abortive Santos revolt by Jimmy Stevens in 1980, Canberra's defence planners decided to help fill the vacuum in Vanuatu's system of law and order left by the departing colonial powers.

The British and French bequeathed their joint colony two police forces, and when the newly independent Government of Father Lini decided to revamp the forces, Australia saw the strategic and diplomatic advantages of picking up the tab.

The training of Vanuatu's 500-man Police Mobile Force was carried out in Papua New Guinea, but it was funded by the Australian Defence Department.

Canberra also paid for the new force's equipment, and the post of Police Commissioner is still funded by the

Foreign Affairs Department through the Australian Development Assistance Bureau.

Official defence aid this financial year has jumped to more than \$1 million from less than \$300,000 last year. The emphasis is now on "developmental aid", mainly engineering and water reticulation projects.

But the Defence Department's role in assisting Vanuatu on independence was singled out by the Secretary of the department, Mr W.B. Pritchett, in a rare public speech in May this year.

After describing Australia's historical defence links with Papua New Guinea and Malaysia/Singapore, he said: "A third aspect of our regional role was illustrated by the problems surrounding the independence on Vanuatu.

"PNG requested, and we provided, logistic support in PNG's aid to the new government of Vanuatu in 1980."

CSO: 4200/147

LINI'S 'SOVIET CARD' PLOY EXPLAINED

Sydney THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD in English 21 Oct 82 p 4

[Article by Peter Hastings, Foreign Editor]

[Text] Threats by Vanuatu's Prime Minister, Father Walter Lini, at a Suva press conference that he will throw beautiful, scenic Port Vila open to Russian warships are due more to domestic politics than to Vanuatu's desire to be non-aligned.

One of Vanuatu's brightest young politicians, Mr Barak Sope, a leading light in the ruling Vanuaaku Pati, was recently elected to Parliament and Father Lini is keenly aware of looming competition. As his likely opposition is, by Pacific Island State standards, a radical, the Russian card is a good one to play. It appears to be even more radical.

There are also other reasons. Father Lini probably shares the mistaken belief, together with some other Pacific Island leaders, that a threat to turn towards the Soviet Union is a useful means of exacting more aid from recalcitrant contributors such as Australia.

The Prime Minister of the Solomons, Mr Solomon Mamaloni, has been talking about a similar approach to Moscow. His interest in the Soviet Union happens to coincide with his conviction that Australia is simply being obstinate in not furnishing the Solomons with a fast patrol boat of the type used by the RAN.

Father Lini is, however, less than enthusiastic about the United States. In part this derives from the Phoenix Foundation affair some years ago when a group of rich extreme Right Americans tried to buy land in Vanuatu at bargain prices to set up an ideal American retirement settlement.

The ideal lay not only in the climate and the scenery but in the attraction of a docile underpaid, black workforce presumed to be only too happy to work for retired Americans.

For this and other reasons, some obscure, Father Lini has so far refused American interest in regularising relations--and without such relations the US will not furnish the aid that Vanuatu so obviously needs.

And because the French have been so tardy in furnishing promised aid to their former half colony and have tended to place such restriction on the type of aid, Father Lini has had his fair share of difficulties.

Father Lini's remarks about granting port facilities to Russian ships also reflects a certain amount of pique with the Australian Prime Minister, Mr Fraser, over Aboriginal land rights and Canberra's apparently altered stance on New Caledonia.

According to sources in Suva and Port Vila, Father Lini, understandably anti-French, believes that where Australia, a year or more ago, supported independence for New Caledonia on the basis of exclusive Melanesian rights, it now has come around to the French view that the stability of the island can only be assured by eventual independence on a multi-racial basis.

To make matters worse, Papua New Guinea also seems to have deserted the Melanesian camp, leaving Vanuatu and the Solomons as the principal supporters of Kanak Liberation, the Melanesian-based independence movement.

In fact, Father Lini's relations with PNG hit a low a fortnight ago, when, in Port Moresby, he gratuitously advised the PNG Prime Minister, Mr Somare, that PNG should join with Indonesia in seeking a solution to Irian Jaya.

His statement fell like a lead balloon in Port Moresby because it came at a time when the Indonesian and PNG foreign ministers were trying to sort out tricky mutual border problems.

The last straw in what was probably a miserable CHOGRM for Father Lini was probably the agreement that PNG would host the next CHOGRM.

Or was it the emphatic Soviet Embassy statement in Canberra that Moscow was not really interested in sending warships to Vanuatu anyway?

CSO: 4200/147

END